

GOOROO RAM SINGH AND THE KUKA SIKHS

(The Kuka Massacre 17th & 18th January, 1872)

DOCUMENTS

NAHAR SINGH, M. A.

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*Dedicated
To*

*The Kuka Martyrs, Kuka State
Prisoners, Kuka Political Detenus
and All Those Kept Under Police
Surveillance (1863 to 1947 A. D.)
Their sacrifices to the cause of
India's liberation from the British
Rule form an inspiring chapter.*

In sacred memory of Late Sant Baba Hira Singh Ji, Village and P.O. Khatrai Kalan, Tehsil Ajnala, Distt. Amritsar, A devoted follower of Gooroo Ram Singhji, and Gooroo Hari Singhji. His noble son Sardar Surat Singh, Chairman of the Lyallpur Co-operative Joint Farming Society Ltd; Village & P.O. Murtzapur via Kurukshetra, District Karnal, Punjab; has voluntarily borne all expenses for publishing this book as a symbol of his outward expression of deep devotional love for Gooroo Ram Singhji, at the instance and friendly persuasion of Sant Hazara Singhji, an inspired and devoted Namdhari.

SARDAR SURAT SINGH SAHIB

he Pioneer successful Co-operative farmer &
hilanthrophist of Murtzapur *via* Kurkshetra
istt. Karnal who voluntarily met all
xpenses of the Printing of this volume.

PREFATORY NOTE

The present volume is in continuation with the first volume of the series, *Rebels Against the British Rule in India*. The documents published in this volume have been carefully selected from the voluminous source-material lying in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, the West Pakistan Old Records Office, Anarkali Tomb, Lahore ; in the district record rooms, and in the Munshi Khana Records of the erstwhile Sikh States of the Punjab. Extracts from contemporary English Newspapers have been added at the end. In the arrangement of the documents all efforts have been made to keep the continuity of events interlinked and strictly in chronological order.

The Kuka movement was one of the People's movements and rising against the British rule. The Tana Bhagats of Bihar, the Moplahs, the Santhals, the Gonds, the Bhils, the Kols, the Nagas, the East Bengal Muslims under Titoo Mian, the Jats of Bharatpur, the Gujars, the Rohillas, the Pindairs, The Pathans of India, the Sanyasies, the Sindhians, the Dogra Rajpoots of Kangra and Hoshiarpur, and the Sikhs from the period 1761 to 1850, in turn and at times fought valiantly against the British Indian Armies. They were defeated, mercilessly butchered to death and subjugated. Their leaders were either hanged or deported, made state prisoners and kept in forts or jails till death.

Unfortunately the British Trader Imperialists were helped in their work of subjugation by the wealth-owning, moneylending castes and classes of the Indian population, who identified their interests with the foreign merchant rulers from the very beginning. Wars were and have always been fought with Money ; one of the most powerful weapons of war. Many a war in India against the British were lost, because the treasuries on the Indian side were empty. Before contemplating or fighting a war, the British floated a higher percentage loan, and it was soon contributed by the Dhanpatties, the Indian Seths, Mahajans, Banias, Marwaries, Shroffs, Reddies, Khojas, Gaddiwala Seths, Hundiwala Mahajans, Indian Princes, Landlords, and Feudal grandees. These upper strata wealthy and powerful classes of the comp-

licated social structure of the Indian population, generally sided with the British till the transfer of power in 1947 to the Indian and Pakistani members of the erstwhile Legislative Assemblies by an act of the British Parliament. The members of these bifurcated assemblies were not elected on adult franchise but on limited and restricted property bases, thus reducing the voting strength to .000005 per cent of population.

The human weapon of war, the Indian soldiers of the British Indian Army in the ranks, were recruited from the poorest peasants, living in rural areas, and from the untouchable classes at present known as scheduled castes. Soldiering for them was the earning of livelihood for themselves, their aged parents, and their poverty-stricken families and children. They fought against the Indian rebels and insurgents, inside India and in other continents of the world for the British Imperialists.

The truncated Lahore Padshahat was annexed to the British Indian possessions in 1849. The minor Maharaja Dalip Singh was deported to England as a state prisoner, where he died in 1893. The Punjabies hated the British rule, for they thought, that the British had won Punjab not on the field of battle but by treachery, deceit and (Kutalniti), by deploying Punjabies against Punjabies. The common people hated the cow-eating and hog-eating Firanghees. To so many, in the early days of the British rule in the Punjab, shaking hand with a Firanghee Hakim was pollution of faith and body. This kind of hatred gradually bred insurrections within the Punjab, and raids by the frontier tribal inhabitants. The best available batch of the then British administrators was sent to the Punjab, to tame the population and to consolidate the British rule in this border province. The policy adopted by the first President of the Board of Administration, Sir Henry Lawrence was of sowing seeds of discord among the various sections of its population and thus shatter to pieces the psychological bonds of unity, fraternity, spirit of oneness and territorial nationalism, which the Punjabies had evolved, consolidated and cemented under their National Sovereign Maharaja Runjeet Singh from 1802 to 1839. This basic policy was worked out in details for nearly a century in different shapes and forms. By the forties of the present century the Punjabies were split into warring groups and

factions based on their respective religious faiths, and cut each other's throats mercilessly during the period of August 1947 to January 1948, at the time of the division of India. It is fairly estimated, that about 4 lakh Punjabies died in this carnage, which cannot be termed as war.

In the beginning of the British rule, the valiant, proud and freedom-loving Punjabies hated their new masters. Raids from the Pathan and Baluchi tribal areas were desired and praised. Invasion of India through Afghanistan was anticipated and believed to be in fulfilment of a popular prophacy. From 1850 to 1854, there were about 4 raids from the Independent tribal area. Inside the Punjab, the brave Muslim Gakhar tribesmen of Pothohar and Rawulpindi, under their leader Nur Mohammad openly declared war against the British. The rising was ruthlessly suppressed. In the years 1857 to 1859, the Syals of Gogera, the Wuttos, Minhas and other tribes of the Rachna Doab rose against their new rulers. The Kashmiries and Gujars of Ludhiana under the local Mujahdin Moulvies, the Hindu and Muslim Ranghars of Kaithal and Thanesar, the Bhatties of Bhattiana and Haryana, the Chalisiah Jats of Hissar, the Ahirs and Gujars of Rewari; Mewaties of Gurgaon and Mewat and the inhabitants of Jhajjar, Bahadurgarh, and Balbgarh tracts under their local leaders raised banners of rebellion against the hated Faringhee. Of course the risings were suppressed in a merciless manner, but the spirit of resistance was not crushed totally.

In the year 1863, a sensational case known as the Wahabi Conspiracy case with Mohammed Sahfi of Ambala and Mohd Jaffar of Thanesar as leaders and with 10 other accomplices was tried at Ambala. The same year Guru Ram Singh, the leader of the Kuka Sikhs was ordered not to move out of his village Bhaini on his preaching tours without the previous permission of the Deputy Commissioner of the District. He was kept under semi-imprisonment conditions.

The Mujahidin followers of Khalifa Syed Ahmed of Bareilly (D. 1831) with their first Headquarters at Patna in India and Sittana in the Independent Eusvfzai tribal area carried out a relentless and unending war against the British from 1847 to 1947. The Indian Mujahdins travelled from India to Sittana, and there joined their co-religionist comrades to

fight a holy war against the British under their successive Khalifas. In several campaigns against the Mujahdins their Headquarters were burnt and raised to the ground, but they survived and organised raids, Ghazas (holy wars), ambushes, skirmishes and surprises with renewed vigour and religious zeal. Subsequently they shifted their Headquarters to Palosi and then to Chamarkand and another place, safe in the inaccessible hills. Their long sufferings, their sacrifices and their exploits form a golden chapter in the annals of the Indian People's struggle for the Liberation of their motherland from the British. The simple facts about these simple but inspired men, coming from the ranks of the common people, are glorious and inspiring.

Within the territories of the Punjab proper the Kuka sikhs under their successive Gooroos kept burning the popular desire for gaining freedom from the political, mental and economic slavery of the British rulers with their programme of boycott and Swedeshi. British rule as well as the spread of western civilizations were to be resisted. The British administrators looked at the movement, as dangerous, and were seeking an opportunity to crush it with force. An opportunity and time for such an action came by chance, and by orders of the British Deputy Commissioner, and the Commissioner of Ambala, 67 Kuka sikh prisoners were blown away with guns on the 17th and 18th January 1872, at Malerkotla.

The documents contained in the volume relate to massacre of the Kuka Sikh Prisoners and the deportation of their leader Gooroo Ram Singh to Rangoon, afterwards to Mergui and his 11 principal Subahs or Lieutenants to Aden, Moulmein, Asseergarh, Chunar and Hazaribagh under Bengal Regulation Act III of 1818.

I thankfully acknowledge the encouragement and moral support, which I constantly received from Shri Feroz Chand Ex-Chairman, History of Freedom Movement in India, Punjab Board, in the search and compilation of these documents.

Village Nangal Khurd

NAHAR SINGH M. A.

P.O. Pakhowal Distt. Ludhiana

5th March, 1966.

DOCUMENT No. 1.

Circular No. 1

Dated Lahore 30th Dec. 1871

From

Under Secretary to Government Punjab
Police Department.

To

All Commissioners and Deputy
Inspectors-General of Police.

Ram Singh and his Subahs not to Visit any fair without permission.

I am desired by His Honour the Lieutenant Governor that you will not permit Ram Singh Kuka, or his leading Subahs, to visit any large fair or gathering except with the express sanction of the Government.

DOCUMENT No. 2

Memo No. 1

Dated Lahore 3rd January 1872

To

All Deputy Inspectors-General of Police.

Movements and doings of all Subahs to be secretly watched and reported.

Requests they will report to this office the movements of all of the Kuka faith and arrange for a careful watch being kept over their doings, yet without interfering with them, and, if possible, without their cognizance.

2. *A Report to be kept of all Kukas of Note*

Each District Superintendent should write in a book the names of Kukas of any note either residing in his district or frequenting it, though residing elsewhere, and from time to time enter all information collected regarding each individual.

3. *Particulars to be sent to the district concerned*

Anything recorded affecting Kukas, residents of other districts to be communicated to those districts, for entry in their records

4. *This record to be kept secret*

This book to be kept by the District Superintendent in his own handwriting, and to be kept under lock and key.

DOCUMENT No. 3

Telegram
From

Dated the 15th Jany., 1872

The Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana.

To

The Secy. to Govt. Punjab, Delhi.

Two hundred Kookas attacked Malodh Fort last night, wounded Sardar Badan Singh, and killed two men. One Kooka killed and two wounded, I go out at once. Particulars by post.

DOCUMENT No. 3 A

Telegram
From

Dated 15th Jany., 1872

Secretary to Govt. Punjab, Delhi.

To

Home Secretary—Calcutta

Deputy Commissioner Ludhiana telegraphs the following:

“Two hundred Kookas attacked Malodh Fort last night wounded Sardar Badan Singh, and killed two men. One Kooka killed and two captured. I go out at once...Particulars by post.”

The crime shows great boldness on part of Kookas. Maharaja Patiala concurs with Lt. Governor in considering it serious. Measures to be taken will be detailed on receipt of Commissioner's report.

DOCUMENT 3A(i)

Telegram
From

Dated 16th January 1872

The Deputy Commissioner Ludhiana.

To

The Commissioner of Ambala. (Delhi)

Malerkotla attacked by 500 Kookas this morning. Eight or ten killed. Send troops sharp.

DOCUMENT No. 3 B*No. 14.**Dated the 15th Jan., 1872**From*

L. COWAN, Esq : Deputy Commissioner,
Ludhiana.

To

The Commissioner,
Ambala Division.

Late on the night of the 13th instant, Surfraz Khan, Deputy Inspector of Police at Sahnewal came in and reported that, on the same day a gang of about 100 Kookas of the Patiala State who had gone to Bhainee to be present at the Maghee Mela held there, a small gethering (at which probably 500 persons assembled) had worked themselves into a state of frenzy and declared that they would be revenged for the death of Gyanee, a culprit who was hanged at Ludhiana last month. Surfraz Khan was present at Bhainee when this occurred. He stated to me that Ram Singh, the leader of the Kookas, went up to these men with a turban round his neck and entereated of them not to create a disturbance ; that they would not listen to him ; and that Ram Singh came to the Deputy Inspector and reported to him that these men were upto mischief and that he had no control over them. This occurred about 2 P.M. on the 13th. Ram Singh named Heera Singh and Lehna Singh of Sukroudel in the Patiala State as the leaders of the gang. Soon after this gang left Bhainee, and the Deputy Inspector, not-with-standing the gravity of the report made to him, thought it sufficient to tell off Sergeant of Police to see the gang out of our territory. The Sergeant returned few hours afterwards and reported that the gang had entered the Patiala State and had gone to the direction of Rampur. Not till then did the Deputy Inspector come into Ludhiana with the report of the affair. I should mention that

the Kookas are said to have declared their intention of proceeding to Malerkotla.

2. I immediately warned the Vakils of Patiala and Kotla, and noticed to the District Superintendent of Police the gross negligence of the Deputy Inspector in not having had this gang followed up and watched.

3. Information has just reached me that last night about 7 P.M. a gang of 200 Kookas attacked the residence of Sardar Badan Singh at Malodh, wounded the Sardar and killed two men, and carried off two or three horses. Of the attacking party, ten are said to have been mounted. In this affair one of the attacking party was killed and two have been captured; Sardar Badan Singh is related to the Maharaja of Patiala, and it is probably in revenge for the assistance rendered by the Maharaja in the butcher murder case that this attack has been made on his relative. If it be true that some of Sardar Badan Singh's horses have been carried off, this is not a pleasant feature for it denotes that some other atrocity is in contemplation. I go out at once to Malodh to make inquiry into this case, and shall report to you all that I discover.

P. S.—Intimation has been sent to the Maharaja of Patiala by letter and telegram informing him that Heera Singh and Lehna Singh of Sukroudee are the reported leaders and asking him to have them captured and give assistance.

I have summoned Ram Singh and his Chief Subahs to Malodh to make such enquiries as will I hope lead to the identification of all concerned.

DOCUMENT 3C

Copy of a letter from Lehna Singh, Naib Tehsildar at Ludhiana, dated 15th January 1872 received by Deputy Commissioner on the 16th.

I went to Bhainee this morning in order to inform Ram Singh of your Persian letter (Note this was the order summoning Ram Singh to meet me at Malodh). There I learnt from Sookha and Ghumunda, Lumbardars of the village, that day before yesterday Lehna Singh and Heera Singh, Kukas got permission from Ram Singh, not to make any assault at Bhaini and Ludhiana, but somewhere abroad. So Heera Singh and Lehna Singh were speaking openly that they will first go to Kotla then to Sungroor or Jheend, and afterwards to Delhi. Ram Singh told me, that he reported to the Deputy Inspector of Police that the men above mentioned have bad designs, but they may not make any assault, but this is his excuse. I have written you these few lines in the form of report, and also a separate report of the Persian order. The Kukas that have gone out with this bad design are about three hundred men.

DOCUMENT 3D*Telegram**Dated the 16th January, 1872**From*

Viceroy.

To

Lt. Governor of the Punjab.

Your telegram of yesterday received. It is very desirable that the most experienced officer available should be sent to the spot to enquire into the matter. It is of the utmost importance that the whole facts of the case should be thoroughly sifted and ascertained without delay so that there can be no possible chance of the Government being misinformed as to the cause which occasioned, and the persons engaged in this most serious outrage.

DOCUMENT 3E

Telegram
From

Dated the 16th January, 1812

The Assistant to Inspector General of Police, Lahore

To

The Inspector General, Delhi.

District Superintendent, Ludhiana, reports, that 20~ Kookas attacked Malerkotla. Few killed and wounded both side.

Thousands are assembling neighbouring villages to re-attaek. Civil Officer informed Government.

DOCUMENT 3F

From

The Deputy Commissioner
(Malerkotla), Ludhiana.

To

Secy to Govt. Punjab, Delhi.

Do not send troops. I have sent for some cavalry from Nabha. Two Kookas killed and four captured at Malodh. A great number surrendered at Rurr.

DOCUMENT 3G*Telegram**Dated 16th January, 1872*

(Time) 11-50 A.M.

From

Lt. Governor of Punjab, Delhi.

To

The Viceroy

Attack on Malcdh by Kookas already reported was followed next morning by one on Malerkotla.

Seven inhabitants thereof killed, numbers of Kookas 500. In compliance with requisition of Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana for troops, one regiment Native infantry wing of European detachment of Cavalry, leave this morning for Khanna between Ambala and Ludhiana. Deputy Commissioner has sent telegram that a great number of Kookas have surrendered at Rurr, and that he has got Cavalry from Nabha, but I have not stopped troops going.

Following on antecedents these outrages show incorrigible conspiracy in leaders of sect. Country not safe whilst leaders at large. I have therefore authorized Forsyth to effect capture of Ram Singh and principal Subahs—Report by post.

DOCUMENT 3H*Telegram**Dated the 16th January, 1872*

(Time) 4 P.M.

From

Viceroy.

To

Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab-Delhi.

Your action entirely approved. We shall be anxious to hear further particulars.

DOCUMENT 3H(i)

Telegram
From

Dated 17th January, 1872

Secy. Government Punjab, Delhi.

To

Home Secy. Calcutta.

Maharaja telegraphs following :—"Yesterday 16th at 11 morning Sayed Niaz Ali, my Naib Nazim of Omergarh, arrested with only a few men with him, with great courage, 68 Kookas who made disturbance at Kotla and Malodh. Among them are 29 wounded men. Heera Singh and Lehna Singh, their leaders, have also been apprehended. More by dak."

DOCUMENT 3I

Telegram
From

Dated the 16th January, 1872

Deputy Commissioner,
Ludhiana, (Malodh).

To

Secy. to Government Punjab-Delhi.

January 16th 1872—The enquiry progresses. The whole facts and I hope the names of all engaged will be discovered. I go on to Kotla tonight or tomorrow. It is not known yet with certainty where the Kooka rebels are.

DOCUMENT 3I(i)

Telegram
From

16th January 1872

The Deputy Commissioner
Ludhiana

To

Secy. to Government Punjab-Delhi.

Donot send troupes. I have sent for some cavalry from Nabha. Three Kookas killed and four captured at Malodh. A great number surrendered at Rurr.

DOCUMENT 3J

*Telegram**Dated 16th January 1872.**From*

Deputy Commissioner
(Malodh) Ludhiana.

To

Secretary Punjab Government Delhi.

Against four of the Malodh murderers the proof is convincing. Allow me to execute them at the spot. It is of importance that the punishment should be prompt. I go on to Kotla 16th January.

DOCUMENT 3K

*Telegram**Dated 16th January, 1872**From*

Secretary to Govt. Punjab-Delhi.

To

Home Secretary Calcutta.

16th Deputy Commissioner Ludhiana telegraphs today. The enquiry progresses. The whole facts and the names of all engaged will be discovered. I go on to Kotla tonight or tomorrow. It is not known yet with certainty, where the Kooka rebels are.

DOCUMENT 3L

Dated 16th January 1872

From

Secy. Govt. Punjab, Delhi.

To

Home Secy. Calcutta.

Commissioner telegraphs from Ludhiana 16th. The European Companies from Jullundur have arrived. All quiet here. Seventy Kookas, very severely wounded after Kotla fight, were seized at Sherpur in Patiala Territory ; probably these are all. For men number evidently exaggerated by Native reports. Ram Singh was with Cowan today and has now been sent to come in here.

DOCUMENT 3M

Dated 17th January 1872

From

Cowen (Deputy Commissioner)
Kotla.

To

Home Secy. Punjab, Delhi.

Tranquillity restored. About one hundred Kookas killed, wounded or captured. Patiala, Nabha and Jhind, giving active assistance.

DOCUMENT 3N

*Dated 16th January 1872**From**(7-30. P.M.)*

L. Cowan, Esq. Deputy Commissioner,
Ludhiana.

To

T.D. Forysth Esq. C.B. Commissioner and Supdt. of
Ambala Division.

In reply to your telegram of yesterday date, informing me that you would be at Ludhiana this evening and directing me to send a report to meet you there ; which telegram has just been received by me, I have the honour to report to you that tranquillity has been completely restored, and that there is no necessity for you to come to Kotla.

2. The gang of rebels, for no other name will adequately characterise them, never numbered more than 125. Of these there were at Malodh 2 killed, 4 captured. At Kotla, 8 killed, 31 wounded. Of those wounded 25 or 26 escaped at the time but 68, including 27 wounded, have been captured in the Patiala State at RURR, a village 12 miles from here. The entire gang has thus been nearly destroyed. I propose blowing away from guns, or hanging, the prisoners tomorrow morning at day break.

Their offence is not an ordinary one. They have not committed mere murder and dacoity ; they are open rebels offering contumacious resistance to constituted authority and to prevent the spreading of the disease, it is absolutely necessary that, repressive measures should be prompt and stern. I am sensible of the great responsibility I incur, but I am satisfied that I act for the best, and that incipient insurrection must be stamped out at once.

DOCUMENT 30

No. 9C

Dated 16 January 1872

From

L.H. Griffin, Esq.,
Off. Secretary to the Government
of the Punjab.

To

E.C. Bayley, Esq. C.S.I.,
Secy. to the Government of India.

I am directed by the Hon. the Lt. Governor to forward copies of telegrams the purport of which has already been communicated to His Excellency the Viceroy.

2. It will be seen that on the night of the 14th an attack was made by a party of the Kookas, estimated at 200, on the fort of Malodh, situated about 20 miles south of Ludhiana; belonging to the Malodh Sardars, Sikh Chiefs of approved loyalty and service. One or two casualties occurred on either side, and the son of Sardar Mitt Singh by name Buddan Singh, a Jageerdar Magistrate, was wounded. The object of the attack was presumably to obtain arms, but no details have yet been received. On receipt they will be at once communicated.

3. The next morning a large force of Kookas, 500 in number attacked the fort of the large town of Kotla, capital of the Mohammadan State of Malerkotla, about 30 miles south of Ludhiana. Some seven or eight persons were killed by the assailants who appear to have been beaten off with some casualties.

A telegram from Lahore mentions that thousands of Kookas are assembling in the neighbouring villages to re-attack. This statement is probably exaggerated, and this morning the

Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana reports that two Kookas were killed and four captured, while a large number surrendered at Rurr.

4. On the news of the attack on Malodh the Lt. Governor at once deputed Mr. T.D. Forsyth, C B., Commissioner of the Ambala Division, to Ludhiana, to report at once the measures advisable to adopt ; but before the departure of the train, the second report of the attack on Malerkotla was received.

5. The aspect of the affairs had now changed by the second attack by a larger force following the first with so much rapidity, and it was certain that, unless immediate and active measures were taken, the number of the insurgents will rapidly increase. What might have been an isolated attack by a small party of fanatics was now unmistakably proved to be an organised conspiracy on the part of the formidable sect to disturb the peace of the country.

The number of insurgents in arms was rapidly increasing and it was impartially necessary to act with decision and without a moment's delay, and thus prevent a movement, unimportant in its origin from becoming of the gravest character. The antecedents of Ram Singh, the Kooka leader, and his lieutenants, are well known to the Government of India, and they were such that no reasonable doubt or shadow of doubt, could exist that the attacks on Malodh and Malerkotla were the direct result of their orders and advice.

6. The Hon. the Lt. Governor at once conferred with H.E. the Commander-in-Chief and it was arranged that the 1st Gurkhas, a wing of the 72nd Regiment, and a Mule Battery should proceed to Khanna, the nearest station to Kotla, tract under the orders of the Gen. Tytlar Commanding the Ambala Division where necessary. A troop of the 12th Bengal Cavalry accompanied them. Ludhiana, which is now unprotected, will be strengthened by three companies of the 54th Foot from Jullundur and a Half Battery of Royal Artillery.

7. The Lieutenant Governor has directed the arrest of Ram Singh and his principal and most influential subahs. Sahib Singh,

Rur Singh, Lakha Singh, Kahn Singh, Brahma Singh, Jawahir Singh, Malik Singh, Man Singh and Hukma Singh. The arrest of Ram Singh will be effected as rapidly as possible, the details of the capture being arranged by Gen. Tytler, in communication with the Commissioner of the Division.

8. The men above-named, if arrested, will atonce be forwarded to Allahabad, as His Honour does not consider it advisable to retain them in Panjab. Regarding their future destination, the Lt. Governor will make further recommendations but he now requests the issue by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in-Council of Warrants under Regulation III of 1818 against all the men above mentioned.

9. So little information has been received as yet, that it is difficult to form any conclusions as to the course now Kookas are likely to adopt. The Hon. the Lt. Governor, however, has every hope that the measures taken by him will restore confidence and tranquillity to the country atonce. He is convinced of their necessity, and trusts that they may receive the full concurrence of His Excellency the Viceroy.

DOCUMENT 4

Telegram
From

Dated 17th January O.h, 20M.

Commissioner, Ludhiana.

To

Secy. Punjab-Delhi.

Referring to Cowan's telegram asking permission to execute at once four men. Since then we have got 70 men. I am on the spot, and dispose of the cases according to form and without delay. Exceptional action not necessary, and would increase excitement better allayed.

DOCUMENT 4A

Telegram
From

17th January 1872

Secy. Punjab Government Delhi.

To

Commissioner at Ludhiana.

With reference to your telegram regarding execution of rebels, Lieutenant Governor concurs with you, he, however, approves Mr. Cowan's energy and zeal.

DOCUMENT 4B

Demi official letter of Instructions dated 17th January 1872, from Mr. Forsyth to Mr. Cowan.

You have done admirably, but for heaven's sake don't let the whole thing fall short of perfect success by any hasty act.

By dealing with the men now caught as culprits in the Kotla territory, they can be hanged legally, without the delay of sending the case to the Chief Court, by attending to the form usual in all such cases, *i.e.* sending up the proceedings to me and to save time and trouble, I am going out to Kotla soon as I have disposed of Ram Singh. But if you hang (yourself) these men, *i.e.*, the men caught at Malodh, you will fall short of perfect success. A delay of 12 hours can not produce harm whereas illegal action may cause trouble. I only wait for Ram Singh to come in tomorrow morning, and I shall be out at once.

DOCUMENT 4C

No. 15C

Delhi-the 17th Jany. 1872

Confidential

From

L.H. Griffin Esq. Offg. Secy.
to the Govt. of the Punjab.

To

E.C. Bayley, Esq. C.S.I.
Secy to the Govt. of India.

I am desired by the Honourable the Lt. Governor to request that the name of PAHARA SINGH, omitted by mistake from my letter No. 9C of yesterday may be added to those of the Kooka leaders for whom warrants are required under Regulation III of 1818.

DOCUMENT 4D

Telegram

Delhi, Dated 17th Jan. 1872

From

Secy. Punjab Govt.

To

Home Secy. Calcutta.

Deputy Commissioner telegraphs from Kotla 16th "tranquillity restored. About hundred Kookas killed, wounded, or captured, Patiala, Nabha and Jhind giving full assistance".

DOCUMENT 4E*Dated the 17th January 1872.**From*

L.H. Griffi Esq. Offg. Secy. to
the Govt. of the Punjab.

To

E.C. Balyley Esq. C.S.I.,
Secy to the Govt. of India.

In continuation of my letter 9C of yesterday, I am to forward the information copy of the first detailed report, received from the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana on the recent out break of the Kookas.

DOCUMENT 4F*Dated Ludhiana, the 17th Jan., 1872.**From*

T.D. Forsyth Esq. C.B.
Commissioner and Supdt. Ambala Division.

To

L. Cowan Esq.
Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated Kotla 16th Jan., 7-30 P.M.

2. The body of Kookas now apprehended in Patiala territory have committed two separate offences. One offence

affecting British jurisdiction, the other offence affecting the semi-independent jurisdiction of Malerkotla.

3. As regards offences committed in Malerkotla, the authorities there have full power to try and sentence criminals, sending the case up to the Commissioner for sanction when the sentence is the Capital Punishment.

4. I request that you will prepare at once the case against such as appear to you to be deserving of capital punishment and I shall then give immediate orders ; but with deference to your expressed desire for the promptitude ; the case is not sufficiently urgent to justify the abandonment of the very simple form of procedure we have at hand.

5. I propose proceeding to Malerkotla very shortly.

DOCUMENT 4G

No. 15
From

Dated 17th January 1872

The Deputy Commissioner,
of Ludhiana.

To

The Commissioner of Ambala Division.

In reply to your telegram the receipt of which was delayed owing to my having left Malodh just before it arrived at that place, I addressed a hurried letter to you last evening reporting that tranquillity was completely restored, and it would not be necessary on you to come to Kotla. I now continue the narrative of what has occurred.

2. I yesterday completed the enquiry in the Malodh case. Seven prisoners were placed on the trial, four of them

were wounded ; they were taken red-handed. The evidence and their own admission formed the most conclusive evidence against them. Their names are Bhagwan Singh, Gian Singh, and Thumman Singh of Patiala State and Mehar Singh of Allawalpore Distt. Jullundur, all Kookas. There was some doubt whether the other three persons joined in the attack ; they are kept to be tried on other charges. From the enquiry it appeared that on the 13th instant, at Bhaini, Heera Singh and Lehna Singh of Sukroudi in Patiala, two men who had been formerly in good circumstances but were now poor, collected a gang of Kookas estimated at from 60 to 100 in number. These men they seated apart from the other Kookas who had come to visit Ram Singh and by prayers, recitations etc. worked them up to a state of frenzy, and then, after abusing the British Government and the native states who had assisted in the Raikot murder case called on them to revenge the death of Gyanee, a Subah who was hanged at Ludhiana—a month ago, promising arms, horses and money, if they would follow them. These two men said that arms and horses would be found at Kotla, and that they would then proceed and sack Sangroor, Nabha and Patiala, gathering strength as they went. Ram Singh gave intimation to the Deputy Superintendent of Police Surfraz Khan, that this gang meditated mischief, and he himself begged of them not to create a disturbance at Bhaini whether this remonstrance was made in good faith, or was a deep move on Ram Singh's part, I am unable now to say.

3. About 2 P.M. on the afternoon of the 13th instant, this gang left Bhainee in a body; they proceeded via Rampore and Pael, in Patiala territory, without, however, resting at these places, and about 10 P.M. reached Rubhoo, a village in this district about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Malodh, on the border of the Patiala State. They remained at a well distant about 400 or 500 paces from the village of Rubboo. The Deputy Superintendent of Sanehwal (Surfraz Khan) came into Ludhiana on the night of the 13th to report the departure of the gang from Bhainee, and about 11 P.M., I sent notice to the Vakils of Kotla and Patiala, directing them to give warning to their respective states.

4. The Kooka gang remained in the neighbourhood of Rubboo during the night of the 13th and day of the 14th. There is no evidence to show that their number increased after leaving Bhainee, and I am inclined to think that the greatest number together at one time did not exceed 150 men. The delay at Rubboo was probably caused by a hope that they would be joined by others, or by doubts of the success of an attempt at Kotla. It probably occurred to the leaders, as they were about to start for Kotla, that it would be easy to obtain arms and horses at Malodh. It was certainly not their intention to attack Malodh when they left Bhainee.

5. The gang left Rubboo in the evening and reached Malodh as it became dark. They made the attack in the manner I have described in a previous letter. Their success at Malodh was very poor one; they killed two men of no consequence, slightly wounded the Sardar and secured three horses, one gun and one sword. In return they left two of their number killed and four wounded prisoners. Considering the suddenness of the attack, this result is creditable to the people of Malodh and to the men of the adjoining village of Kheree, who turned out on hearing the beat of drum and reached Malodh before the Kookas left it, and gave valuable assistance.

6. The Kookas then proceeded to Kotla, about 9 miles distance from Malodh and appeared at Kotla on the morning of the 15th. Intimation of the threatened attack reached the Ahulkars of this small state on the evening of the 14th, and some patrols were placed round the town during the night, and the guards at the gates strengthened. On the morning of the 15th these precautions were discontinued, and the Kooka gang about 7 A.M. made a sudden attack. They made for the palace and treasury, but were encountered by the Kotwal Ahmed Khan and a few men. Ahmed Khan who appears to have behaved with great gallantry was killed, and in the confusion which followed 7 other persons were killed and 15 wounded. The Kookas failed to get at the treasury, and after taking two horses and a few swords retreated, followed by the Kotla people who had now assembled armed. A sort of running fight was kept up and long shots fired and many more Kookas

were wounded, till both parties reached the village of Rurr in the Patiala State, the Kookas carrying most of their wounded with them. At this place the Kotla officials were told by a wounded Kooka that the gang intended to return and to repeat the attack on Kotla, and thought it prudent to return after sending information to the officials of Sherpur in Patiala.

7. On the receipt of the 1st intimation of the attack on Kotla and arrival of the Kookas at Rurr, the Naib Nazim of Sherpur rode to Rurr accompanied by three Sowars. He found the village abandoned, Jat villagers having gone off in alarm with their families and the Kookas seated in the jungle a little away from the village. The Kookas at first showed fight, advancing towards the Naib Nazim with drawn swords and shouting out abusive language, but these was mere bravado; the ruffians were completely cowed. They were hungry and tired, and had a number of wounded men with them, and after a short parley, they gave up their arms, many of their swords covered with blood, and surrendered. 68 Kookas (including a woman) were here captured who had been present at the attack of Malodh and Kotla. Of these 29 wounded, 7 of them very severely. The prisoners were conveyed to the fort of Sherpur. I have sent for them. The Raja of Nabha and Jheend responded with alacrity to my requisition for troops. In less than an hour after receipt of morasilas they despatched artillery, cavalry and infantry to Kotla. I hope to be able to allow these troops to return this evening or tomorrow.

8. When I first heard of the attack on Kotla, the situation appeared to me to be a very grave one, and I telegraphed that troops might be sent. Two such atrocities as the attacks on Molodh and Kotla perpetrated by the same people who committed the murders at Amritsar and Raikot justified me in thinking that it was more than a dacoity. It looked like the commencement of an insurrection and I trust I shall not be thought to have caused unnecessary alarm by my first reports.

9. It transpires that disturbance was got up by two men, Heera Singh and Lehna Singh, resident of the village of Sukroudee in the Patiala State. These men were formerly in

affluent circumstances, but have latterly become poor and desparate. They induced a number of the most ignorant of the Kooka men, who are easily excited, to join them; their sole object in the first instance being plunder. What the ulterior object of the leaders was it is impossible to say. One of the leaders, Lehna Singh, was captured at Rurr; the other Heera Singh is believed to have been killed at Kotla; but the corpse has not yet been identified.

10. The losses sustained by the rebels in their short campaign of three day's duration are as follows:—

At Malodh.	2 killed, 4 wounded and taken.
At Kotla.	7 killed, 5 captured.
At Rurr.	68 captured of whom 29 are wounded.

Whilst they have inflicted a loss of—

At Malodh.	2 killed, 2 wounded.
At Kotla.	8 killed, 15 wounded.

Total :	10	17
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At least 2/3 of the whole gang have been killed, wounded or captured. The remainder are being hunted like vermins, and many more of them will be taken.

11. I am in hourly expectation of the arrival of the prisoners from Rurr. I propose to execute at once all who were engaged in the attacks on Malodh and Kotla. I am sensible of the great responsibility, I incur in exercising an authority which is not vested in me, but the case is an exceptional one. These men are not ordinary criminals. They are rebels having their immediate object the acquisition of plunder, and ultimately subversion of order. It is certain that, had their first attempt been crowned with success, had they succeeded in arming themselves and providing themselves with horses and treasure they would have been joined by all the abandoned characters in the country; and their extinction would not have been effected without much trouble. By the timely preparation at Kotla the first efforts were defeated, and by the active

exertion of the Patiala officials, this miserable attempt at rebellion has been stamped out, but others of their stamp must be deterred from following so bad an example and that the warning should be effectual, it must be prompt and terrible. I have every confidence then that the Govt. of the Punjab will approve of the immediate execution of those prisoners who have been taken redhanded.

DOCUMENT 5

Dated the 17th Jan. 1872

From

T. D. Forsyth, Esq. C. B.
Officiating Commissioner, Ambala Divission.

To

Lt. Colonel J. C. P. Baillie,
Offg. Deputy Inspector General of Police
Ludhiana Circle.

I request that you will proceed with 25 Sowars of the 10th Bengal Cavalry and all the police you can muster from the Ludhiana lines to the village of Bhainee, and call on all the Subahs and Kookas who may be there to come in quietly to Ludhiana. These men should be dis-armed of all gandassas, clubs or weapons of any kind. Having got the men out of the village you should search carefully for arms and papers of importance. The search should be conducted in a regular manner according to law.

Should the Kookas show any show of resistance you are to order from Sanehwal one company of Gurkhas which I have ordered to be halted there and then take measures for the capture

of the men, sending at the same time a report to me both by Sowar direct and also by telegraph from Sahnewal.

You should leave a guard of Police and Sowars at Bhainee till further orders.

DOCUMENT 5A

Dated Camp Ludhiana, the 17th January, 1872

From

T. D. Forsyth, Esq. C. B.
Commissioner and Supdt., Ambala Division.

To

The Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab,
Delhi.

I have the honour to forward herewith copy of letter received from the Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana at an early hour (5 A.M.) this morning reporting that tranquillity had been completely restored to this district. A copy of my reply is forwarded.

2. I telegraphed to you last night the substance of news which had been brought to me by the Vakil of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, to the effect that the body of about 70 Kookas, some with guns, some with swords and other with gandassas and sticks, had come from Malerkotla to Sherpore, which is about 10 miles west of Kotla and had surrendered to the Nazim of Umergarh.

About 29 of these men were wounded and all acknowledged that they had been in the attack on Kotla. The total number of Kookas employed on this attack appears not to have exceeded 125.

3. Ram Singh, it appears from one report sent in by the Supdt. of Police last night, joined the Deputy Commissioner at Malodh, on his requisition, but was told to come into Ludhiana by him, on Mr. Cowan's advancing to Kotla.

4. I have directed Colonel Baillie to cause Ram Singh to come to Ludhiana at once. Lakha Singh came in, of his own accord on the 15th, and has been detained till Ram Singh's arrival, when he shall be disposed of as ordered by the Inspector General's telegrams.

5. It is reported that 200 Kookas are collected in the village of Bhainee which is 15 miles distant from Ludhiana on the road to Khanna. I have directed Captain Menzies to proceed there and bring back with him any Subahs or other whose presence may be required here.

6. As soon as I have decided what to do with Ram Singh on his arrival here, I shall proceed to Kotla.

7. Two Companies of His Majesty's 54th regiment arrived yesterday from Jullundur and are lodged in the fort. The artillery from Jullundur is coming in. Colonel Gough with 110 Sabres has just arrived. I have telegraphed to the General Commanding Sirhind Division to keep the European troops at Ambala, but to send on the 1st Gorkhas to this place.

8. Further reports will be submitted hereafter.

DOCUMENT 5B

Telegram
From

Dated the 18th January 1872

Secretary, Government Punjab.

To

Home Secretary Calcutta.

At Malodh two Kookas killed, four wounded and five captured; Sixtyeight captured in Patiala territory, of whom

twentynine were wounded, others since captured. No government troops were engaged. At Malodh Surdar lost two men killed and two wounded. At Kotla the Kotwal was killed fighting gallantly; Seven men also killed and fifteen wounded. Quiet restored.

DOCUMENT 5C

Dated Ludhiana, the 18th January 1872

From

J. Ince, Esq., M. D. Civil Surgeon, Ludhiana.

To

The Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana.

I have the honour to report that about 8 A.M. on Monday the 15th instant, I received your verbal instructions, through the Superintendent of Police, to proceed without delay to Malodh for the purpose of examination and reporting upon the persons killed and wounded during the attack by the Kookas, upon that place the previous evening. I at once laid out my horses, and joined you at 2 and 3 p.m. the same day, having been somewhat delayed in the latter portion of the journey by rain.

My Hospital Assistant, Mirza Ameer Beg, accompanied me with medicines, instruments, and surgical appliances.

2. The following statement shows the number of persons I examined:

PERSONS	Killed	Wounded	Total
Malodh men ...	2	2	4
Kookas ...	2	4	6

3. The two Malodh men who have been killed, one was Boota, the Sardar's coachman, who was wounded in five places, the chief one being across the right temple probably by a "gundassa", and the skull was fractured; the other was Nubbee Bux, a Munshee, who had received five very severe sword wounds, two of which were across the back of the neck, and by which his head was nearly severed from his body.

4. Of those wounded was the young Sirdar himself Buddun Singh, who had received six wounds, three of which were probably sword cuts, one by a gundassa, and two by sticks; fortunately they were all slight, but that across his left lower jaw, a swordcut about four inches long, will leave an indelible scar. The other Nehal Singh received three slight sword wounds, one across the right cheek, and two others upon the left hand and wrist.

5. Of the dead Kookas, No. 1 had an incised wound over the left cheek-bone and a fractured skull. No. 2 had an incised wound across the front part of the head, and also a fractured skull. The expression of these two bodies was a most fiendish one, and contrasted horribly with the placid faces of the two Malodh ones, which were lying beside them in the same shed; indeed, the scene afforded a striking proof of the fact that the state of the mind, or rather its facial reflection at the moment of death is as lasting as the attitude of the remaining portions of the body.

6. Of the four wounded, Gahani Singh had received a bullet wound on the right arm, a little below, the shoulder joint, causing a very severe and comminuted fracture of the bone. Phagwan Singh had a slight contused wound on the back of the right elbow, and a contusion on the back. Thammun Singh had a slight contused wound about half inch long just above the left elbow, and three slight contusions upon the head. Lastly, Meer Singh had a contusion over the left hip, at the slightest touch of which he cried but very vociferously, and out of all proportion to the apparently slight injury he had sustained.

7. About 7 a.m. the next day (the 16th) I started on the same duty for Malerkotlah, as Kookas had made a still more formidable attack upon the later town the morning after their assault upon Malodh. After a very disagreeable ride in a drizzling rain across country, which, owing to the very heavy rain, was here and there several inches deep in mud and water, I reached Kotlah about 10 A.M., and the following is a detailed account of the killed and wounded I there examined :

Persons	Killed	Wounded			Total	Grand Total
		Very severely.	Severely.	Slightly.		
Kotla men	8	2	4	9	15	23
Kookas	7	1	1	0	2	9

8. The eight Kotlah men who were killed had all been burned or buried before my arrival, but I was informed that one was the Kotwal and the other seven sepoy.

9. The names of the two who were very severely wounded are Hafiz Ali Shere, Moonshee, who received five sword wounds, one across right side of the head, another across left side of face, another across right side of the neck, and another upon the lower hip, but the worst was that across the left temple, by which the skull was fractured and Gaimda, a sepoy who received a sword wound upon the top of the head, which probably caused a fracture, and another slighter one upon the right arm.

The names of the four who were severely wounded are :-

Meer Buksh a sword cut across left wrist.

Munda " " "

Kara " " "

and Sussa, whose thumb and two first fingers of the left hand were cut off, and who is said to have killed the Kooka who

maimed him. The names of the nine who were slightly wounded were :- Beera, with four sword wounds, Gunda, three sword wounds across the fingers of the left hand, Kumma, two wounds, a sword puncture and a contusion, Maiho, several contusions by a Latti or stick, Subadar Shahdul Khan, one sword cut upon the left arm, near the wrist, Abdool Ruheem Khan, one sword cut, Gholam Mohomed (who said he killed three Kookas himself), one sword puncture, Khudia, one contusion upon the head, and Deena, one contused wound.

10. The bodies of the seven Kookas who had been killed, I found lying in pools of blood and heaped together upon the floor of a small room near the Treasury: their attitudes were various, but the expression of the faces was nearly the same in all, and no less fiendish than of their dead comrades at Malodh. They had been terribly hacked about with swords, chiefly about the head, and chests, and most of them had received several wounds; the head of one was nearly severed from the body, and the right arm of another was completely separated half way above the elbow and was lying beside the corpse.

11. Of the two wounded Kookas, one was Wazeer Singh who had received a dangerous sword wound, about 5 inches long, over the region of the spleen and another, but slighter one, upon the left shoulder. Of the other wounded person only the severed right hand was picked up. I found it lying amongst the dead bodies, and satisfied myself that it was not a part of either of them, but really a member belonging to another.

12. After examining the dead bodies, and visiting all the wounded which have been above described, most of whom were, except the Kookas, lying at their own houses in the town, and giving advice and directions regarding their treatment, I left them in charge of the Native Medical Officer attached to the dispensary there. I then returned to the spot where the principal fighting had taken place; and having written and despatched to you the demi-official account of what I saw on arrival at Kotlah, the particulars of the Kooka attack, the gratifying news of the

DOCUMENT 5D
POLICE DEPARTMENT LUDHIANA DISTRICT

No. 3 of 1872

Special Report of Crime, 17th January, 1872.

1	2	3	4	5
	No. of persons.		Value of property.	
Description of the offence. Section of the Court ; also distance and direction of place from police Station.	Supposed to have been concerned.	Arrested.	Plundered.	Recovered.
396	about 100			<p style="text-align: center;">KOTLA</p> <p>Arrived here yesterday afternoon with Deputy Commissioner about 5.0' clock. On the road were met by Risaleh from Jind, another from Nabha, also the Naib Nazim of Amargarh (Niaz Ali) Patiala, who reported Maharaja been successful in capturing the greater part of the gang who attacked this place. The capture seem to have been easily effected, no one being hurt. The Kookas were probably knocked up and dispirited. The Nazim stated that some 30 men were wounded; from this it is evident that city Jama-dar's men must have fought Kooka well. One wounded Kooka was left behind. There were seven killed.</p>

capture of so many of the fugitives by the Patiala Tehsildar of Sherpore, and some other matters, I prepared to return to Ludhiana, which I reached about 8 o'clock the same evening.

17th, 10 o'clock A. M. Have just returned with Deputy Commissioner from inspecting the city and scene of action. The gang appear to have met with little or no difficulty in entering the city through the broken down wall, and no opposition till they reached the palace square; here they were met by the Thanedar and a few men, and at this place there was the only real fighting, about 15 being killed on both sides. The Thanedar is said to have killed three men before he succumbed to a sword wound in the head. The Kookas evidently hoped to get at the treasury, but luckily broke open the wrong door, finding only a few papers and Missals in the place. They took some arms out of a Kothi, but, not finding any ammunition, threw them down a well. The Kotla people were evidently unprepared. This they say was in consequence of the short notice they received of the meditated attack (the report from their Vakil only reaching Kotla at 8 P.M. on the 14th, the men having been informed by me at 10 o'clock the previous night, 13th).

17th, 12 o'clock. Just starting to assist in bringing in Kookas, who are reported to be about 6 miles off. Roads very bad and cattle knocked up.

3, o'clock. Returned to Kotla, met the party about 7 miles off, collected fresh cattle for hackeries, now about 3 miles off. Both Heera Singh and Lehna Singh, the leaders, taken. They are generally well dressed and well-to-do men, but have the appearance of bold determined-looking fellows.

Heera Singh told Deputy Superintendent of Police that the whole band was taken. Several of them were exceedingly abusive, and declaring they would have no Government but their own, &c. &c.

7 o'clock. Just returned from the execution; arrangements excellent, 7 guns; 49 blown away and one cut to pieces when savagely attacking the Deputy Commissioner.

Fortunately, as we were finishing the execution, Commissioner's letter was received directing these ruffians, up to their elbows in blood to be tried, under the extradition laws, &c.

8 P.M —Khan Singh, Subah, has just been brought in from Mulloopur by party of Nabha Cavalry (a village 5 Kos from this) by orders of Deputy Commissioner. This man is a most influential Subah and leading man amongst the Kookas, and attendant and confidential adviser of Ram Singh's.

Signed—

E. Perkins, Lt. Col.

Deputy Superintendent Police.

A report came in here this evening from Malodh that 150 Kookas had congregated in a jungle near Khanna.

E. P.

DOCUMENT 5E

No. 16, Dated the 17th January, 1872

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From

L. Cowan, Esq.,
Offg. Deputy Commissioner,
Ludhiana.

To

The Commissioner of Ambala Division.

In continuation of my letter to your address of this morning's date I have the honour to report to you that 68 rebel Kookas were brought in today from Rurr. Of these two were women, leaving 66 men ; 22 of the men were wounded ; most of them slightly.

2. The conduct of these prisoners was most defiant and unruly, they poured forth the most abusive language towards the Government and the Chiefs of the Native States. All of them admitted that they were present at the attacks on Malodh and Kotla, and gloried in the act; they said they had attacked Malodh for the purpose of procuring arms, and Kotla because their religion required them to slay the killers of cows.

3. The two women were the residents of the Patiala State and I made them over to the officer Commanding the Patiala troops for conveyance to Patiala. 49 of the rebels were blown away from the guns this afternoon on the parade ground of the Kotla Chief in the presence of the troops of Patiala, Nabha, Jind and Kotla States. It was my intention to have had 50 men blown away, and to have sent remaining 16 rebels to Malodh to be executed there tomorrow but one man escaped from the guards and made a furious attack on me seizing me by the beard and endeavouring to strangle me, and as he was a very powerful man, I had considerable difficulty in releasing myself. He then made a most savage attack on some officers of Native States who were standing near me. These officers drew their swords and cut him down.

4. This was most painful duty and it was most inexpressibly painful to me by receipt of your letter of today's date received as the last batch was being lashed to the guns desiring me to make an enquiry and forward the proceedings to you for punishment. In carrying out execution of my own sentence I acted on the honest and the sincere conviction that I was acting in the best interests of the Government. A rebellion which might have attained large dimension was nipped in the bud, a terrible and prompt punishment was in my opinion absolutely necessary to prevent the recurrence of similar rising.

5. I most sincerely trust that you will after this explanation, approve of what I have done. I am placed in a most difficult position here, with reference to the 16 rebels who have remained unpunished. It was as I have stated above my

intention to have sent them for execution to Malodh tomorrow and I earnestly beg that you will sanction my carrying out sentence at once. I believe these executions have led and will have a most happy effect on the people of these parts. The demeanour of the people, their shouts and remarks wherever I go, all show this.

6. I propose dismissing tomorrow morning to their respective States the troop assembled here, and shall remain here till noon tomorrow in the hope of receiving an order from you sanctioning my carrying out sentence on the remaining Kooka rebels. Should you not accord this sanction I will make enquiry and forward for orders.

P.S —Among the rebels blown away were Heera Singh and Lehna Singh, the leaders of the gang and instigators of the outbreak.

P.S. 2nd—Just as I am closing this letter the party of cavalry I sent in pursuit of the Kookas said to be canceled in the village of Malloopur, which I communicated to you in demi-official of today's date, has returned bringing with it, Kahn Singh an influential Subah who resides at Bhainee and three other Kookas. I reserve enquiry into these men's case until tomorrow as I have been extremely harassed today.

DOCUMENT 5F

To Secy. Punjab—Delhi.

First telegram reporting execution of men was dispatched by Commissioner, from Ludhiana 18th at 7H 16 M. "Fortynine Kookas blown from guns at Kotla. One cut to pieces, when savagely attacking Deputy Commissioner."

DOCUMENT 5G

Telegram
From

Dated the 18th January, 1872.

Secretary Government, Punjab

To,

Home Secretary Calcutta.

At Kotla, on 17th instant, 49 of the men who had attacked Malodh were blown away from guns by Deputy Commissioner. The circumstances under which this was done are not yet clearly known, but explanation has been called for from Commissioner. The other Kuka leaders have been arrested.

DOCUMENT 5H

Dated Camp Ludhiana the 18th January, 1872

From

T.D. Forsyth Esq. C. B. Commissioner and
Superintendent, Ambala division.

To

The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, Delhi.

I have the honour to inform you that I have considered it absolutely necessary for the preservation of peace in this district first, and for the peace of the whole province, to deport Ram Singh, leader of the Kooka sect, at once from the Punjab, and to send him to Allahabad for safety until the pleasure of the Government regarding his final disposal be made known.

2. The complicity of Ram Singh in the outrages committed by his followers at Malodh and in the state of Malerkotla has not yet been thoroughly inquired into and it is a fact, that he reported to the police the intention of Lehna Singh and Heera Singh, the chief actors in the present case, to commit outrages. But by his own admissions his followers make use of his name and take advantage of his presence among them to call on their fellows to commit murders and create disturbances. He admits, whilst I am now writing down his words, that sometime (he says about a month or six weeks), before the Amritsar murder, two men Jhanda Singh and Mehr Singh asked leave to kill the butchers. Others joined in the request, but he strenuously forbade them, nevertheless they perpetrated the crime. He admits, that though he has a strong suspicion that these men were the culprits he did not give any information to the Government. Sometimes afterwards, he says that Dall Singh, Mungal Singh, Diwan Singh and two others came and asked his leave to commit the Raikat murder that he forbade them, and they did the deed without his knowledge. But he admits, that he never gave any clue to Government officers, not even when he was summoned to Bassean by Mr. Macnabb and interrogated. It is, therefore, quite evident, that he kept the Government in the dark as to the proceedings of his followers. His excuse is, that he was ignorant of our laws, and that he has forbidden his followers to be guilty of murder, there was no obligation resting on him to report the matter to the Government, not when he found that murders proposed by his followers had been committed.

4. To allow such a man to be at liberty is in the highest degree dangerous, even supposing his statement to be true, and then to be no more guilty of complicity is to be inferred from his silence, when information from him as in the Amritsar case would have led to a prompt apprehension of the real culprits.

5. I trust that the action that I am about to take may receive the sanction of the Government, and that a warrant may be issued under Regulation III of 1818, for the detention in custody of Ram Singh and that of his Subahs who during

the next day or two shall be apprehended and forwarded to the Magistrate of Allahabad.

DOCUMENT 5I

Telegram
From

Dated the 18th Janauary, 1872

Secretary, Punjab Government

To

- (1) Home Secretary Calcutta.
- (2) Magistrate, Allahabad ; and
- (3) Secy. Government North Western provinces.

Ram Singh, Kuka leader, with Lakha Singh and Saheb Singh, his Lieutenants forwarded to Allahabad, under charge of European officer and Gurkha Guard by this morning's train.

DOCUMENT 5J

No. 1

Dated Ludhiana the 18th Janauary, 1872

Demi-official letter

From

Captain Menzies.

My dear Colonel—I enclose special report from Perkins just received. It appears that Mr. Cowan has acted on his own responsibility, and executed the greater part of those arrested in Patiala. Forsyth has gone out, and I fancy will try the remainder and have them executed in the legal manner.

They appear to have been quite beyond control. I was up all last night arranging for despatch of Ram Singh, Lakha Singh, Sahib Singh and Jawahir Singh who were sent off under a guard of 12 Gorkhas and Mr. Jackson to Allaha-bad. Ram Singh came in here, in obedience to a summons sent out by you directing him to do so, with only four followers. He arrived at 2 A.M. and left at 4 P.M. During the two hours Mr. Forsyth questioned him and he certainly acknowledged to have been aware of both the Raikot and Amritsar murders being contemplated, and has given up the names of the men who were the prime movers. In the former Dull Singh, Dewan Singh and Mangal Singh and in the latter Jhanda Singh and Mehar Singh of Thatta village, District Amritsar. Baillie went off last night with 25 Sowars to fetch Ram Singh from the direction of Malodh but he had passed on to Bhaini, so Baillie halted at Sahnewal for the night and at 4.30 A.M. 40 Gorkhas and 12 police were sent down to him by special train, and he went straight off to Bhaini to arrest remaining Subahs and to search for arms and papers. Just as he was leaving Sahnewal, five other Subahs came in there with the Clerk-sergeant, viz., Brahma Singh, Pahara Singh, Hukma Singh, Kahn Singh Nihang and Gopal Singh so he sent them on by morning train, and I have now got them here under a Gorkha Guard waiting for a European Officer to escort them. Everything seems quiet. I had written round to all Districts about their Jail and Treasury guards and warned them against any surprise. We seem to have secured all the Chief men except Maluk Singh and he is said to be at Bhaini and Baillie will probably bring him in this morning. I myself was against Ram Singh being deported, but Mr. Forsyth said that he must send him off before he went out to Malerkotla. There are 40 Gorkhas at the Ambala jail and 50 here just as a reserve and under the latter I keep all arrested instead of letting them be put into the jail under the Daroga.

I do not think there is anything more to mention today.

DOCUMENT 6

Proceedings in the case of the Sixteen men tried at
Malair Kotla 18th January, 1872,

Malair Kotlah Jurisdiction

Malair Kotla State. Versus

- (1) Albel Singh, Kooka of Baloon, Patiala.
- (2) Roor Singh Mulu Majra, Patiala.
- (3) Kaisra Singh, Gillan, Nabha.
- (4) Saitha Singh, Rubboo, Ludhiana.
- (5) Anoop Singh, Sakroudee, Patiala.
- (6) Sobha Singh, Rubboo, Ludhiana.
- (7) Variam Singh, Chuna Bahadur Singh, Ludhiana.
- (8) Sham Singh, Jogah, Patiala.
- (9) Heera Singh, Pittooke, Nabha.
- (10) Baggat Singh, Kanhnjla, (Compiler) Patiala.
- (11) Hakim Singh, Jubbal, Amritsar.
- (12) Varriam Singh, Mehraj, Ferozepur.
- (13) Sobha, Singh Baddal, (Compiler) Nabha.
- (14) Soojun Singh, Rubbu, Ludhiana,
- (15) Bela Singh, Rubbu, Ludhiana.
- (16) Jouhir Singh, Bolean, Patiala.

Charge——Dacoity with murder at Kotlah on the morning of the 15th January 1872.

Niaz Ali for prosecution on solemn affirmation. 18th January 1872——I am Naib Nazim of Ummergurh, in the Patiala State. On the 15th instant about noon a Zemindar of Rurr came and reported to me at Sherepure that a body of Kookas had created a disturbance in Kotlah and come to 'Rurr'. I went at once with three sowars and a mohurrir to "Rurr": arrived there at about 1 P. M. I saw 68 Kookas in the jungle about 30 or 40 paces from the village, of whom 29 were wound-

ed, some only with contusions. The villagers had all fled out of fear. I asked them where they had come from ; they said they had come after attacking Malodh and Kotlah. I told them to give up their arms. Some agreed to give up arms, others refused, and they disputed about it. At last they gave up 16 Talwars, one spear and a number of Gandassas, axes and sticks. The swords before the court are those they gave up. I arrested them and took them to Sherpur. There were no troops or people of Kotlah there. I got no information from Kotlah. There were four horses with them,—three of them belong to the Sirdar of Malodh and one to some one in Kotlah. They had also a Kotlah chupprasse's badge with them. I identify horses out of court. The 16 men before me and the two women were among the Kookas I captured. The leaders were Heera Singh and Lehna Singh, of Sakroudee, and Gurmukh Singh, a Lumberdar of Pharwai, in Kotlah. They told me they had left Bhainee with the intention of killing the cow-killers in Kotlah and that on the road they turned off to get arms in Malodh. They did not tell me what they intended to do after leaving Kotlah. I told them it was no use to resist that though they may over-power me, the Maharaja would not leave a man alive. After taking the arms I collected a number of men and escorted the Kookas to Sherpur, four kos from Rurr; I kept the prisoners a day at Sherpur and then sent them to you at Kotlah.

Accused do not question.

(Sd) L. Cowan

Punjab Singh for prosecution on solemn affirmation, 18th January 1872 :—I am Lumberdar of Ramnuggur, in the Patiala state, and the Durbaree of the State. On the 15th, I went with Niaz Ali to "Rurr". My village is on the road from Sherepore to "Rurr". I saw about seventy Kookas in the jungle outside the village, and village deserted. After some dispute they gave up their arms to Niaz Ali. There were 16 Tulwars, a spear, and a number of axes and Gandassas. There were four horses.

I identify the arms shown to me. All the swords were marked with blood and many were without sheathes. About 20 or 25 were wounded severely. They said they had come from Bhainee to massacre the people of Kotlah who killed cows and went to Malodh to get arms. The 16 men and two women now before me were among those whom I took to Sherepur. The four horses outside court are those taken from them.

(Sd.) L. Cowan

Accused do not question.

Narain Singh for prosecution on solemn affirmation, 18th January 1872— I am the Mookhteer of Sirdar Mit Singh, of Malodh. Three of the horses, two mares, and one horse outside court are the property of Sardar Mith Singh and his son Budden Singh. They were stolen from Malodh, on the evening of the 14th instant, by a gang of dacoits who wounded the Sardar Buddun Singh and killed two men.

(Sd.) L. Cowan

Accused do not question.

One of these swords shown to me was stolen from Malodh at the same time.

(Sd.) L. Cowan

(Note. Examination of all the 16 accused recorded by Mr. Cowan) not included (Compiler).

ORDER—The whole of the accused in this case were captured immediately after the attack on the town of Kotlah. They had in their possession arms which were deeply stained with blood, and property stolen from the state of Kotlah and Sirdar of Malodh.

The whole of the accused make admissions which amount to confessions of guilt, and of their guilt no reasonable doubt

can be entertained. The offences these men have committed are no ordinary ones. They have committed an act of open rebellion and deserve the severest penalty of the law. I commit the accused for punishment to the Commissioner and Agent for the Kotlah State.

(Sd.) L. Cowan

The 18th January 1872

Magistrate

The conduct of certain officials of the Patiala State has been most praiseworthy. Considerable intelligence and courage were displayed by Niaz Ali, Naib Nazim, in the capture of so formidable a gang with the aid of only a few followers. His attendants are too deserving of rewards for the prompt and ready aid they rendered to him.

I recommend the following rewards :—

To Niaz Ali, Naib Nazim	Rs. 1,000
To Punjab Singh Durbari	300
To Zaimal Singh who gave the information	200
To Mustan Ali	100
To Ootum Singh	50
To Ruttan Singh	50
To Gulab Singh	50
To Partap Singh	50

(Sd.) L. Cowan

Proceedings in the Court of Commissioner and Agent for the
Kotlah State, 18th January 1872.

K O T L A H S T A T E

Vs.

Albel Singh and fifteen others, Kookas.

Charge:—Dacoity with murder at Kotlah on the morning of the 15th January 1872.

This case has been conducted by the Deputy Commissioner Ludhiana, on behalf of the Kotlah authorities, the Nazim and Tehsildar sitting with him and conducting the trial.

The evidence of Niaz Ali and Punjab Singh shows that a compact body of 68 or 70 Kookas were found by them in the jungle outside the village of "Rurr" which place had been deserted by the villagers through fear. When interrogated these men all acknowledged that they had come from Kotlah. 16 Swords, one spear, axes, and Gundassas were in their hands and covered with blood. The statements furnished by the Nazim establish the fact of the attack on the palace and treasury of Kotlah, the murder of the Kotwal and seven of his men besides wounding of 15 more.

It is impossible to discriminate now between those who actually struck the blows which caused the death of these men, nor at this present moment would it be wise to display leniency towards a gang every one of whom is, according to law, equally liable to the same punishment. The intentions of the gang are clearly indicated by their leader Ram Singh vide his statement made before me at Ludhiana on 18th. As regards prisoners Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 15, and 16 their statement are ample confessions of their being actually inside Kotlah. Nos. 8. and 9 admit being at Kotlah. Nos. 6, 11 and 14 admit being with the gang when caught, and their admissions, coupled with the statements made by accused No. 3 and 4, leave no doubt in my mind that they were of the gang, and therefore are equally liable to punishment.

I concur with the committing officer, and confirm the sentence of death against all to be carried out into immediate execution.

(Sd.) T.D. Forsyth,

KOTLAH

The 18th Jan.

1872.

Commr. and Supdt. and

Ex. Officio Agent to

the Lt. Governor Punjab.

The remaining prisoners caught, but who it appears were not taken with this gang will be dealt with separately.

T.D.F.

The meritorious conduct of the Patiala officials having been certified by the Deputy Commissioner Ludhiana, I sanction the rewards to each as recommended by him. The money to be paid from the Kotla revenues. Provision is also to be made for the families of the Kotwal and others who fell gallantly defending the palace and property of the Malair Kotlah State; the details will be settled in consultation with the Nazim of Kotlah.

T.D. Forsyth
Commissioner.

KOTLAH.

The 18th Jan. 1872.

DOCUMENT 7

Telegram
From

Dated the 18th Jan. 1872

Secy. to Govt. Punjab, Delhi.

To

Home Secy. Calcutta.

The following from Commissioner, 18th, all that present known to have been concerned in attack on Kotla have been captured and convicted. Fifty were executed yesterday by COWAN, among them Hira Singh and Lehna Singh, Soobhas. Sixteen are now to be executed. Four made over to Patiala

for punishment. Seven Kookas caught at Malodh, being in British Territory will be tried there by me tomorrow, and case sent to Chief Court immediately. No direct evidence against Ram Singh in this case sufficient put to him on his trial. Colonel Gough and detachment of Cavalry here. Perfect tranquillity. COWAN'S prompt action deserves praise. Patiala, Jhind and Nabha gave signal help.

DOCUMENT 8

Telegram

Dated 19th Jan. 1872

From

Viceroy, Calcutta.

To

Secy. of State, London.

Forty nine Kookas who attacked Malodh and Malerkotlah blown from guns. Explanation expected. Kooka leaders arrested. Several captures made in Patiala Territory. Quiet restored. Guru Ram Singh sent under guard to Allahabad.

DOCUMENT 8A

No. 7 of 1872

Fort William, 19 January 1872.

From

Government of India

To

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India

My Lord Duke,

We enclose for your grace's information a copy of the telegrams noted in the annexed list, regarding certain disturbances

created by bodies of Kookas in the Ludhiana district of the Punjab.

(2) Two attacks were Committed by these men. One by a body said to be 200 strong on Malodh fort, during the night of the 14th January. The other probably, by the same body, though estimated at 500 in number, on Malerkotlah, on the morning of the 15th. Both attacks were repulsed.

(3) In compliance with the application of the Deputy Commissioner Ludhiana, a strong artillery force was promptly despatched to his aid from Delhi and Jullundur. Meanwhile the Maharajahs of Patiala, Nabha and Jheend, rendered prompt assistance, and about 100 Kookas, who were concerned in the attack on Kotlah, having been killed, wounded, or captured, including their two leaders, Lehna Singh and Heera Singh.

4. The leader of the Kooka Sect, Gooroo Ram Singh was at once ordered into Delhi by the Lieutenant Governor, and has since been sent with two of his Lieutenants, under a guard to Allahabad.

5. These are the only particulars we have yet received, but inquiries are in progress as to the causes which occasioned and the persons who were engaged in these outrages. It is conjectured, however, that the object of the Kookas, in their attack on Malodh and Kotlah, was to procure arm.

6. We await the receipt of a full report from the Lieutenant governor, and we shall forward it to your Grace as soon as possible.

DOCUMENT 8A (i)*Telegram**Dated 19th Jan. 1872**From**No. 1.*

Secy. to the Govt. Punjab, Delhi.

To

Home Secy. Calcutta.

Following telegram from Ludhiana :—"16 more executed yesterday at Kotlah by Commissioner. Four made over to Patiala. Seven, who were captured at Malodh, undergo regular trial today. Baillie still at Bhainee, which he had cleared of all males. One hundred and seventy two who came in yesterday after noon and were sent off by me in parties to respective districts except fifty, who having no regular residence except Bhainee, are here in custody waiting Commissioner's orders. Smith from Lahore will take down Kahn Singh and other Subhas to Allahabad this afternoon".

DOCUMENT 8B*Telegram**Dated the 19th January 1872.**From*

Viceroy to Lieutenant Governor.

Clear the line. Stop any summary execution of Kukas without your express orders.

DOCUMENT 8C

Telegram

Dated the 19th Jan., 1872.

From

Lt. Governor Punjab, Delhi.

To

Viceroy, Calcutta.

Your telegram Mr. Cowan's execution were followed yesterday by sixteen more deliberately ordered by Forsyth after reaching Malerkotla. Kookas arrested in British Territory will be regularly tried. No more summary executions will take place.

DOCUMENT 8D

Dated Camp Kotla, the 19th January, 1872.

From

T. D. Forsyth, Esq ; C. B. Commissioner, of Ambala.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Punjab.

In continuation of my letter dated 17th instant forwarding reports from the Deputy Commissioner Ludhiana, I have now
**Note :—*Nos. 15 and 16 of which copies were received from Deputy Commissioner direct and sent to Government of India with No : 24C, dated 20th January. } the honour to forward copies of further letters* received from him and to submit a report of proceedings.

2. Upto the time of despatch the letter just referred to, no reliable intelligence of the whereabouts of Ram Singh had been received. It appeared as if he was playing a deep game for he has reported to the police the departure of his followers from his village to commit some outrage, but it had been known and reported verbally by me to you some time before that a body of 200 Kookas were to assemble at Bhainee, Ram Singh's village at the Lohri Festival which occurred on

the 13th and that it was given out that there was to be some outbreak soon after. The correctness of these reports may have been doubted at the time as very vague, but read by the light of subsequent events, there is I think, little reason to question their accuracy and for Ram Singh to wait till the party had gone off and then to report proceedings, and to declare himself without any influence was a ruse on his part to try and escape the responsibility of the acts of his followers.

3. The Deputy Commissioner ordered Ram Singh to meet him at Malodh, which he did, but as Mr. COWAN was obliged to go on at once to Kotla he sent Ram Singh back to his home. Intimation of this was however not sent to me, and we had some trouble to find out where Ram Singh was. At 4 P.M. on the 17th I despatched Colonel Baillie with a party of Colonel Gough's Cavalry to search for Ram Singh and bring him in. I had previously ordered parwanas to be sent to in different directions requesting his attendance at once at Ludhiana. Later in the evening I heard that he had reached Bhainee where I was informed 200 Kookas were assembled. Mr. Hatchell, Assistant District Superintendent, who had passed through that village on the night of the 15th, had reported to me that there were no Kookas there beyond the ordinary inhabitants. These men must, therefore, have either concealed their presence from the police officer or had assembled after his departure. I had instructed Captain Menzies to go out there at day break, but Colonel Baillie's subsequent movements induced me to make over the duty to him, a report of which will be forwarded shortly.

4. Ram Singh came into Ludhiana with four followers noted in the margin in obedience to the orders I had issued.

Sahib Singh, Jawahir Singh	}
Servants	
Gurdutt Singh,	
Nunoo Singh.	

He arrived at 1 A.M. on the morning of the 18th when I interrogated him and got answers, the substance of which I sent in

an official letter to you by the morning train of the 18th (yesterday). For reasons given in that letter, I decided to report Ram Singh at once, and further information confirms my opinion as to the correctness of the step taken, although the particular outrage with which we are now concerned has been promptly dealt with and we are able to report perfect tranquility. We have no assurance that this tranquility will not be disturbed at any moment. The assemblage of the Kookas in the village of Bhainee, the appearance of small bodies of Kookas near here, a few of whom had been apprehended and the report received from Jullundur of a body of Kookas from Amritsar having raised their flag at Rahun are a sufficient indication that there is some intention of a general rising, and the slightest failure on the part of the authorities to deal promptly with the marauders now caught would be a signal to concealed parties to rush forward.

5. As I was travelling by rail to Ludhiana on the 16th, I saw Kookas at three of the railway stations and heard that

*yesterday afternoon a sowar coming from Malodh reported that he saw about 12 Kookas collected and seated on the ground near the road about 12 miles from this. The Deputy Commissioner at once sent out to search for the men, but they had disappeared. A party of Kookas had been seen to pass through the village of Saihkee in the Patiala Territory near Kotla, on the evening of the 15th but afterwards separated. I beg to call attention to the Deputy Commissioner's in original with this.

} others had been passing up the lines. The Jhind Munshi reports that a Kooka in that state was observed to sell his land and throw away his property declaring his intention of going of at-once to join his Guru.

6. It is with this impression in my mind that I now allude to Mr. Cowan's proceedings at Kotla, which are fully detailed in this report. I had demi-officially and officially urged him to be careful to do nothing which could detract from the complete success of his energetic efforts to quell this disturbance. I pointed out that whilst offences committed against persons or property in British territory could only be

tried according to regular form, and sentences only be carried into execution after confirmation by the Chief Court, the procedure in cases of crimes committed in foreign states such as Malerkotla admitted of more prompt action, in as much as sentence could be carried on the confirmation of the Commissioner.

7. Before, however, my official letter had reached him, Mr. Cowan had disposed of 50 prisoners in a summary manner. There was no question as to their guilt. for they were all apprehended redhanded ; and unquestionably had the proceedings been sent up to me, I should have confirmed the sentence of death. Whilst then I regret the informality of the procedure. I consider myself justified now in confirming the sentence, there being no arrangement for hanging so many men at Kotla, and considering the circumstances of the case and occurring in a Native State, these men were executed by Mr. Cowan by being blown from guns, a proceeding warranted by a former precedents when large number of rebels were thus disposed off in 1857.

8. Having despatched Ram Singh yesterday morning I rode out to Kotla, accompanied by Colonel Gough and a party of his cavalry, and the remaining 16 prisoners were regularly tried by Mr. Cowan, acting on behalf of and sitting on the bench with the Nazim and the Tehsildar of Malerkotla State. The proceedings were formally recorded; and the sentence of death passed by them, having received my sanction, was carried into execution in the presence of the European officers and the officials of Malerkotla and the adjoining states.

9. There still remain 7 persons, implicated in the attack on Malodh, four of whom were captured at the time by the Sardar's people. This offence having been committed in British territory, the criminals will be regularly tried before the Sessions today at Malodh, and sentence will be carried out after the confirmation by the Chief Court in the usual manner at Ludhiana.

10. In the evening of yesterday I distributed the following rewards from the Malerkotla offers to the persons prominently mentioned by Mr. Cowan as having distinguished themselves in apprehending the Kookas who were concerned in the attack

on the Kotla Palace and Treasury, and I gave instructions to the Nazim of that principality to make proper provision for the family of the Kotwal, Ahmed Ali, and the others who gallantly defended at the expense of their lives, the property of their state :

Niaz Ali, Naib Nazim	.....Rs.	1,000
Punjab Singh, a Darbari	.....Rs.	300
Jaymul Singh, who gave the information.....	Rs.	300
Mastan Ali	.....Rs.	100
Uttam Singh	.....Rs.	50
Rattan Singh	.....Rs.	50
Golab Singh	.....Rs.	50
Partap Singh	.....Rs.	50

11. Letters of thanks on behalf of the Malerkotla State were at the same time addressed by me to the Maharaja of Patiala and Rajas of Jind and Nabha, and delivered in Darbar to the Vakils of the Rajas.

From,

L. Cowan, Esq.

dated Kotla, the 19th Jan.,

(alluded to in marginal notes above).

Yesterday Narain Singh, Vakil of Sardar Hakiqat Singh of Ber (one of the Malodh Villages), reported to me the receipt of information from his master that a party of 50 Kookas passed through the village of Ber yesterday at noon, and, in reply to enquiries, said that they were going to Kotla; and that about two hours later another party of Kookas, said to 40 or 50 strong were seen seated in the grass preserve of the Sardar and also said that they were going to Kotla.

2. Anup Singh, a Sowar in the service of Malodh Sardar, was despatched from Kotla yesterday about 6-30 P.M. with a letter for his master. On this side of Surroud, a village 3 Kos from Kotla, he observed a party of 10 or 12 men travelling off the road in the direction of Kotla. Anup Singh was relieved

at Surroud, and immediately returned to Kotla, and, when about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Kos from Kotla, over-took a party, probably the same, but increased in number to about 20, and marching parallel to, but some way off, the road in the direction of Kotla.

I sent out a party of Patiala Cavalry with Anup Singh as a guide in search of these gangs, but they returned unsuccessful.

3. Since the outrage at Kotla, several reports have been received of parties of Kookas from a distance having apprehended close to Kotla and then disappeared.

DOCUMENT 8E

Dated Camp, Delhi, the 19th Jan., 1872.

From,

L. H. Griffin, Esq.,
The Offg. Secretary to the Govt., of the Punjab.

To,

E. C. Bayley, Esq. C.S.I.
Secy., to the Govt., of India.

I have the honour to forward herewith copies of letters from Mr. T.D. Forsyth, C. B. Commissioner of the Ambala Division dated 17th & 18th instant, with annexure; and copy of a demi-official letter dated 18, from Captain Menzies, Deputy Inspector of Police, also a special report dated 17th, from Lieut. Col. E. Perkins, Distt. Supdt. of Police, Ludhiana Distt. on the subject of the Kooka outbreak.

2. The Honourable the Lt. Governor observes that the action taken by him, when the first news reached him by the telegraph of the desperate attacks on Malodh and Malerkotla, in sending to the scene of disturbance sufficient troops to restore order and in deporting the head of a sect which had proved itself dangerous to the public safety has been entirely approved by His

Excellency the Viceroy ; and His Honour the Lt. Governor has received this expression of His Excellency's approval with much satisfaction.

3. The Lt. Governor regrets the course taken by Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana in summarily executing the Kooka insurgents captured in Patiala territory, and is of opinion that there was no such urgent necessity as to justify that officer acting without the orders of the Commissioner, whose letters directing formal procedure to be employed in the trial of the insurgents appears to have reached Mr. Cowan after the execution.

4. The position of the Deputy Commissioner was, however, peculiar. He was in a Native State some distance from the officer to whom he had to look for instructions, and no doubt believed that the outbreak was of such a character and likely to excite the sympathies and active co-operation of so large and powerful a sect, that it was necessary to take action promptly before it had grown to any formidable dimension. The Commissioner Mr. Forsyth considers that the action of the Deputy Commissioner deserves praise, and has himself at Kotla executed after formal trial 16 more of the men implicated.

5. The Lieut. Governor is aware that all the men implicated in murder, rebellion, and the most savage attack on the towns of Malodh and Malerkotla were liable to the punishment of death in ordinary course of law. He is also aware, that any success, however temporary, obtained by the insurgents, would probably have been followed by risings of the Kukas in other districts, but he still is of opinion, that there was undue haste in the execution, while policy would not have required, as an example, so large a number of capital punishments. At the same time the position of an officer, alone and acting upon his own responsibility, when naturally excited by the enormity of offences, the relative importance of which he is unable to judge exactly from ignorance of what is occurring elsewhere, must fairly be considered ; and if Mr. Cowan has erred on the side of precipitancy, it is not given to officers of the government to be at the same time energetic and discreet. An opportunity has been given to Mr. Cowan of explaining more fully the grounds of his action.

6. Complete tranquility is now restored, and any other trial which may be necessary will be conducted for offences committed in British territory, and in accordance with ordinary legal procedure.

7. The deportation of Ram Singh, the leader of the turbulent Kooka sect, and his most influential Lieutenants, appears to the Lieutenant Governor to have been an inevitable result of the present outbreak, and whether proof be forthcoming to connect him with the particular crimes under report appears to His Honour of little moment. The Kooka sect has shown itself to be abnoxious to public tranquility ; the series of violent crimes during the past year at Amritsar, Raikote, and Morindah which had so much alarmed society, have now been followed by open rebellion and attacks upon towns, which if successful as from their suddenness, they might well have been, would have occasioned serious inconvenience to the government. The government contended itself with punishing the actual perpetrators of the first mentioned crimes, and trusted that its moderation would have induced the leaders of the sect to insist on their followers abstaining from violation of the law. Such has not been the case. It was at Bhainee, the village of Ram Singh, that the Kookas who committed the present outrages, assembled, and from which they departed on their expedition, and whether Ram Singh at the last found his followers had got beyond his control, whether he desired an experiment to be made to try the temper of the Kookas, to be followed, if successful, by a general rising of the sect or whether he only believed, that the time had not come when taction could be safely taken, is uncertain. What is certain, is that the outrages were the immediate result of the doctrines taught by him, as crime at Amritsar, Raikot and Morindah were committed admittedly with his knowledge, and nothing which has since come to light has in any way altered the view of the Lieutenant Governor, on which the instructions to the Commissioner of the Ambala Division were based, that the deportation of Ram Singh, had become a measure absolutely necessary in the interests of public tranquility. Mr. Macnabb, the late officiating Commissioner of the Ambala Division before leaving it, placed on record his opinion of the necessity for

placing Ram Singh in confinement, and the Lieutenant Governor will submit a further report on the subject.

DOCUMENT No. 9

A summary of events from 11th to 18th January 1872 prepared in the Judicial branch based on the correspondence available—(compiler). Reproduced in original.

(Judicial June 1872)

MEMORANDUM

Mr. Forsyth's letters, dated 18th January and 20th January, to Secretary, Punjab Government.

On the 11th and 12th January last, a body of Kukas from the neighbouring country, but chiefly from the Patiala territory, assembled at Bhainee, residence of Ram Singh, the Kuka Guru to celebrate a festival locally known as the Lohri.

Mr. Forsyth's letter dated 19th January to Secretary, Punjab Government.

That this assemblage was intended, was known to the local authorities, who contented themselves apparently with watching it, though a verbal report seems to have been made by the Commissioner to the Secretary to the Punjab Government.

Mr. Forsyth letter 19th January (paragraph 3 to Secretary, Punjab Government.

It seems to have been anticipated that about 200 men would be present at Bhainee. According to Ram Singh's statement to Mr. Forsyth, about 1000 actually assembled.

Early on the 13th January it was reported to the Police Officer (a Deputy Inspector) of the neighbouring Police post of Sanehwal, that about 100 of these men had separated themselves from the rest, had worked themselves into a state of desperation and had expressed their intention of attacking Maler Kotla in revenge for the execution a few weeks previously in connection with the murder of butchers at Raikot, of one Ghyani Singh, an influential Kuka, much trusted by Ram Singh.

Mr. Forsyth's letter dated 30th January (paragraph 4)

The Deputy Inspector at once visited Bhainee, and found the report correct.

Deposition of Sarafraz Khan enclosure of letter from the Government of Punjab. No. 79C, dated 14th February to Home Secretary.

Ram Singh acknowledged the facts to be true, professed his inability to control the men, and even addressed a harangue to them by way of dissuasion.

Mr. Cowan's letter to Mr. Forsyth, dated 15th January, paragraph 1 and 2.

About 2 p.m. on the 13th the party who had separated themselves, and who were under the leadership of Hira Singh and Lehna Singh two petty Zamindars of the Patiala State left Bhaini. The Deputy Inspector told off a Sergeant of Police merely to watch them out of British territory, and came himself into Ludhiana to report the facts to the Deputy Commissioner Mr. Cowan.

Mr. Cowan at once warned the Vakila of the Patiala and Maler Kotla states of the occurrence.

In the meanwhile the party marched on the 13th to Rabu in the Patiala State, (in Ludhiana District-Compiler) a village distant from Malodh about three or four miles.

Statement of Bhugwan Singh accused— enclosure of letter No. 79C, dated 14th February the Government of the Punjab to Secretary to the Government, Home Department.

It appears that Maler Kotla was selected as the first point of attack, because money, arms, and horses would, it was expected, be found there and because the chief had recently died and, the succession being disputed. It was hoped that the administration would be found weak and off their guard.

That night and the next day the party halted at Rabu, and late in the afternoon of the 14th started for Maler Kotla.

See deposition of Sardar Budden Singh enclosure of letter No. 79C, dated the 14th February from Secretary to Government of India.

On the way some one suggested an attack on Malodh for the sake mainly it would seem, of getting money, horses, and arms, but also partly apparently from hostility to the Sardar and to the Maharaja of Patiala, his kinsman, on account of the assistance given by them in the conviction of the Raikot murderers.

Deposition as above,
also deposition of Dhoukal
Singh—enclosure in same
letter.

Deposition of Sirdar
Buddan Singh quoted
above.

Deposition of Kishana
enclosure as above.

D e p o s i t i o n of
Dasandhee Enclosure as
above.

Evidence of Dewa
Singh, Ram Singh,
Sundur, and statements
of Bhugwan Singh, Gyan
Singh, Thummon Singh
and Mehr Singh accused,
also Mr. Forsyth's judg-
ment on these accused.

Mr. Cowan's letter
to Mr. Forsyth, No. 15,
dated 17th January.

Just about dark they arrived at Malodh, and succeeded by a rush in making good their entry into the Fort. Some of them seized the Sirdar's son Sardar Budden Singh who was slightly wounded in several places by sword cuts before he succeeded in wresting a gandas or axe from one of his assailants, and freeing himself from their grasp.

Another party took their way to the treasury where, failing in their search for money and arms, they wantonly killed a Munshi whom they found seated there.

A third party visited the stables, whence they took two mares, having killed the groom in charge. While these things were passing, however, an alarm had spread, the people of the place collected, and commenced to attack the Kukas who having collected a few arms retired, leaving two of their party killed and four prisoners in the hands of the Malodh people, a few of latter and several of the Kukas were also more or less hurt in the affray.

Retiring from Malodh, the Kukas pressed on the Maler Kotla, where they arrived about 7 A.M. on the morning of the 15th. Intimation of the intended attack had reached Maler Kotla the preceding day; patrols were placed round the town during the night, and the guards at the gates strengthened; but no attack having been made, these men were recalled at daylight.

The Kukas made a vigorous attack and surmounting the ruined wall made their way to the palace and the treasury. Here they had barely time to seize a few arms, and break open one cupboard filled with records when they were confronted by Ahmed Khan, who with inferior numbers, attacked the Kukas, and a well-contested fight ensued. Ahmed Khan fell dead with seven of his followers, 15 others being wounded, but the stand made

enable the town's, people to rally, and the Kukas having obtained only two horses, and a few swords were forced to retire. They left behind them seven dead and five prisoners, and as, it afterwards proved 29 of their party were wounded, several very severely, at either Malodh or Maler Kotla, or in the retreat from the latter place.

Their total number had probably never much exceeded 100 or at most 125, and fully one-third were either killed, captured, or disabled in the two attacks, both of which had failed in their main object.

The gang, therefore, retired dispirited to a village in the Patiala territory called Rurr, about 12 miles from Maler Kotla. On their arrival at Rurr, they took up their position in a piece of jungle about 300 paces from that village, the Jat inhabitants of which, with their wives and families abandoned it in a panic.

Letter from Mr. Cowan to Mr. Forsyth dated 17th January, No. 15.

Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Perkins, to Mr. Cowan dated 28th January.

Deposition of Punjab Singh Lumberdar of Ramnagar—enclosure of letter No. 70C, dated 14th February, from Secretary to Punjab Government, to Secretary Home Department.

Deposition of Niaz Ali—also an enclosure as above.

They were pursued as far as Rurr, losing several wounded by the way, by some of the Kotla people. Here, however, alarmed by the rumour of an intention on the part of the Kukas to renew the attack on Kotla, the Kotla people checked the pursuit and returned.

Meanwhile the headman of the neighbouring village of Ramnagar had hastened to the Patiala Fort of Sherpur, and besought the interference of the Naib Nazim of Amargarh who was then at Sherpur, one Niaz Ali.

Niaz Ali at once proceeded with three sowars and a writer to Rurr. On arrival at the spot where the Kukas were, he summoned them to give up their arms and surrender. Niaz Ali says,—“the villagers had all fled out of fear. I asked them where they had come from, they said they had come from attacking

Malodh and Kotla. I told them to give up their arms, some agreed, some disputed. At last they gave up sixteen tulwars, one spear and a number of gundassas (axes) and sticks. I arrested them and took them to Sherpur. I told them it was no use to resist; that though they might overpower me, the Maharaja would not leave a man alive. After taking the arms I collected a number of men and escorted the Kukas to Sherpur four *kose* from Rurr.

Letter from Mr. Cowan to Mr. Forsyth, dated 17th February, paragraph 4.

Letter from Mr. Cowan to Mr. Forsyth, No. 16, dated 17th January.

Mr. Forsyth's letter dated 19th January to, Secretary, Punjab Government paragraph 5.

Mr. Cowan's letter, dated 17th February, enclosed in Lieutenant-Governor's letter No. 648, dated 28th February.

See depositions 14 to 30 inclusive, appended to letter of Secretary Punjab Government, No. 59C, dated 2nd February, to Secretary to Government, Home Department.

Petition from Nazim of Maler Kotla, dated 6th February—enclosure to letter of Punjab Government No. 65C, dated 10th February, to Secretary to Government, Home Department.

Mr. Cowan questions the accuracy of Niaz Ali's account, and declares that he was followed by other horsemen, and also by some of the Jat villagers of Rurr who had previously fled. Sixty-six men and two women gave themselves up. Twenty two of the men were wounded, most of them slightly.

With this surrender to Niaz Ali, the Kuka raid may be said to have come to an end.

It seems indeed probable that the rumour of the enterprise having spread, others of the Kuka sect had set out to join the assailants. Mr. Forsyth testifies to having seen Kukas at three railway stations on his way to Ludhiana on the 16th. Several persons depose also to seeing small bodies of Kukas in the neighbourhood of Maler Kotla on the evening, concealed in a village near Maler Kotla. These last were, however, possibly fugitives from the attacking party.

One witness also states that he heard of Kukas being in some force in the neighbourhood on the 18th but there is no direct evidence of any Kukas having been seen near Maler Kotla, even as fugitives, after the 16th.

Mr. Cowan's memorandum of the 29th January-enclosure in letter from Punjab Government, No. 59C, dated 7th February.

Deposition No. 12, attached to letter above quoted.

Mr. Cowan's letter to Mr. Forsyth, No. 26, dated 26th January, paragraph 6.

It was generally believed, however, that one or two of Ram Singh's Subahs, who left Bhaini contemporaneously with, or shortly after the march of the party to Rabu did so with the intention of having their followers ready in case of the success of the expedition, but of this there is no positive evidence except that of one of the men captured at Malodh.

When the outbreak occurred, Mr. Cowan, the Deputy Commissioner of the District, was at his headquarters, Ludhiana. Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner, was at Delhi, with a camp of the Lieut. Governor of the Punjab. As has been seen, the news first was received by Mr. Cowan on the night of the 13th from the Deputy Inspector Sarafraz Ali, who came in from Bhaini to report the departure of the party with the avowed intention of rebellious action.

Mr. Cowan's letter to the Commissioner No. 14 dated 15th January.

Telegram from Mr. Cowan to Secretary to Government, Punjab, dated 15th January.

Colonel Perkin's report of the 5th February.

Mr. Cowan blamed the Inspector for not following up beyond the limit of British territory. It does not, however, appear whether Deputy Commissioner took any action on the 14th January. Some time, apparently, on the 15th, Mr. Cowan received information of the affair at Malodh. He telegraphed directly to the Punjab Government, expressing his intention to go to the spot at once. Mr. Cowan arrived at Malodh on the afternoon of the 14th, having on the road thither learnt of the attack on Maler Kotla.

Paragraph 8 of Mr. Cowan's letter No. 15, dated 17th January.

Telegram from Lient Governor, to Viceroy dated 16th January, 11-50 A.M.

Mr. Cowan then again telegraphed both to Jalandar and to the Lieutenant-Governor for troops, and applied for assistance also to the Chief of Nabha, and (then or a little later) to the Raja of Jhind and the Maharaja of Patiala. On the evening of the 15th and early part of the 16th, Mr. Cowan appears to have

Mr. Cowan's letter to Mr. Forsyth, No. 15, dated 17th January, paragraph 2.

Colonel Perkin's report of the 6th February.

Colonel Perkin's diary of the 17th January-enclosures in letter No. 23C of the 19th January from Punjab, to Government of India Home Department.

Colonel Perkin's diary as above.

been employed in taking evidence against the prisoners captured at Malodh. Seven men were brought before him, but he considered the case against the four men only who had been taken prisoners to be conclusive.

Mr. Cowan further summoned Ram Singh to meet him at Malodh and Ram Singh obeyed the summons, but the Deputy Commissioner being anxious to push on to Kotla dismissed him and told him, he would be sent for to Ludhiana if wanted.

On the 16th Mr. Cowan telegraphed to the Punjab Government for leave to execute the four men regarding whose guilt, after his investigation, he entertained no doubt.

Afterwards he started for Maler Kotla. On the road Mr. Cowan received intelligence of the bulk of the Kukas having surrendered "at Rurr, and telegraphed to the Punjab Government not to send the troops previously asked for. As he got nearer to Maler Kotla, he met the troops sent by the Rajas of Jhind, and Nabha; a contingent had also been sent by the Maharaja of Patiala. It is nowhere stated what was the extent of these contingents; but as according to Mr. Cowan's first letter of the 17th they consisted of artillery, cavalry and infantry, their total numbers with the addition of the Maler Kotla troops, must have been considerable. (Number 750—Compiler.)

At any rate nine guns appear to have been at Mr. Cowan's disposal, for at least seven persons were as will be seen lashed to guns at one time.

Mr. Cowan also met the Naib Nazim of Amargarh, and learned from him the particulars of the capture of the 68 Kukas at Rurr, and the fact that they had been detailed for the night in safe custody at the Patiala Fort of Sherpur, distant about 18 or 19 miles from Maler Kotla.

Mr. Cowan desired the Naib Nazim to bring his prisoners at once from Sherpur to Maler Kotla.

On arriving at Maler Kotla, and after making some enquires, Mr. Cowan learned by a telegram received from Mr. Forsyth, which is not on record dated the 15th, that Mr. Forsyth was then either at, or on his way to, Ludhiana, and he wrote to him to the following effect :

Camp Kotla, January 16th, 7-30 P.M.

In reply to your telegram of yesterday's date informing me that you would be at Ludhiana, this evening, and directing me to send a report to meet you there, which telegram has just been received by me, I have the honour to report that tranquility has been completely restored and that there is no necessity for you to come to Kotla.

The gang of rebels, for no other name will adequately characterise them, never numbered more than 125. Of these there were at Malodh two killed, four captured ; at Kotla eight killed 31 wounded ; of these wounded, 25 or 26 escaped at the time, but 68 including 27 wounded, have been captured in the Patiala State at Rurr, a village twelve miles from this.

The entire gang has thus been nearly destroyed. I purpose blowing away from guns or hanging the prisoners tomorrow morning at day break.

Their offence is not an ordinary one. They have not committed mere murder and dacoity; they are open rebels offering contumacious resistance to constituted authority ; and to prevent the spreading of the disease, it is absolutely necessary that repressive measures should be prompt and stern. I am sensible of the great responsibility I incur ; but I am satisfied that I act for the best, and that this incipient insurrection must be stamped out at once.

Arrangements were made by the Punjab Government with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who was then at Delhi to send troops to Maler Kotla and a detachment of Cava-

Mr. Forsyth, who as has been said, was at Delhi with the Lieutenant Governor when the news reached him on the 15th, after receiving instructions from the Lieutenant-Governor, started for Ludhiana by the train which left Delhi, before day break on the 16th, arriving at Ludhiana that evening.

Iry was at once sent off to assist in the capture of Ram Singh, whom with the Chief Subhas the Lieutenant-Governor decided to have arrested at once. These proceedings were reported to, and approved by, the Government of India.

Letter from Mr. Forsyth, to Secretary to the Government, Punjab No. 153, dated 8th April, paragraph 1 and 2.

Mr. Cowan's letter to Secretary, Punjab Government, No. 8th April, Paragraph 2.

Mr. Forsyth letter No.153 of the 8th April, paragraph 3.

Mr Forsyth's letter of the 17th January, to Secretary Government of Punjab.

Mr. Forsyth's letter of the 8th April.

This reply was not till date on the night of the 17th, and approved Mr. Forsyth's view.

On his arrival at Ludhiana Mr. Forsyth received intelligence of the capture of 68 Kukas by Niaz Ali, and at once wrote a demi-official note to Mr. Cowan, desiring that the prisoners should be kept at Sherpur till he could send out a guard to bring them to Ludhiana. Mr. Forsyth says he added the words "for trial". Mr. Cowan thinks that these words did not form part of the letter.

Very early in the morning 5-20. A.M. Mr. Cowan's telegram of the previous day, in which he asked permission from the Punjab Government to execute the four men he had examined at Malodh reached the Ludhiana Telegraph office about three quarter of an hour later, Mr. Forsyth sent another telegram to the Punjab Government which contained the following words.

Referring to Cowan's telegram, asking permission to execute at once four men. Since then we have got seventy men. I am on the spot, and can dispose of the cases according to form, and without delay. Exceptional action not necessary, and would increase excitement better allayed.

Simultaneously with the arrival of Mr. Cowan's telegram, that is, about 5 A.M. on the 17th, Mr. Forsyth received the letter of the 16th above given from Mr. Cowan.

Mr. Forsyth waited till noon of the 17th for an answer from the Punjab Government to the two telegrams, from himself and from Mr. Cowan, and they having received no reply (owing to delay in the Telegraph Department) wrote an official letter to Mr. Cowan, of which the following is an extract. "As regards offences committed in Maler Kotla the authorities there have full power to try and sentence criminals sending the case up to the commissioner for sanction where the sentence is capital punishment. I request that you will at once prepare the case against such as appear to you to be deserving of capital punishment and shall there give immediate orders. But, with reference to your expressed desire for promptitude the case is not sufficiently urgent to justify the abandonment of the very simple form of proceeding which we have at hand. I purpose proceeding to Ma'ler Kotla very shortly."

A little later he sent a private letter couched in the following terms.

My dear Cowan, you have done admirably but for heaven's sake don't let the whole well yes : fall short of perfect success by any hasty act.

By dealing with the men now caught as culprits in the Kotla territory, they can be hanged legally without the delay of sending the case to the Chief Court, by attending to the form which in all such cases, sending up the proceedings to me, to save time and trouble. I am going out to Kotla as soon I have disposed of Ram Singh. But if you hang (yourself) these men i.e. the men caught at Malodh, you will fall short of perfect success. A delay of 12 hours cannot produce harm, whereas illegal action may cause trouble. I only wait for Ram Singh to come in tomorrow morning and I shall then be out at once.

Mr. Forsyth's letter of the 3th April.

Mr. Cowan's letter to Mr. Forsyth No. 18, dated 17th January.

Meanwhile on the morning of the 17th Mr. Cowan wrote a long letter to Mr. Forsyth, to the same effect as his short letter of the previous day, but in much greater detail. The first seven paragraphs contain an ancient and accurate summary of the outbreak.

In the 8th paragraph Mr. Cowan said when first I heard of the attack on Kotla, the situation appeared to me to be a very grave one and I telegraphed that troops might be sentIt looked like the commencement of an insurrection, and I trust that I shall not be thought to have caused unnecessary alarm by my first reports."

Mr. Cowan then, proceeds to give further details of the prisoners, and of their defeat and capture. His 10th paragraph closing with these words, "At least two thirds of the whole gang have been killed, wounded, or captured. The remainders are being hunted like vermins, and many more of them will be taken, and his letter terminated with the following words, I am in hourly expectation of the arrival of the prisoners from Rurr. I propose to execute at once all who were engaged in the attacks on Malodh and Kotla. I am sensible of the great responsibility which I incur in exercising a power which is not vested in me, but the case

is an exceptional one. These men are not ordinary criminals. They are rebels, having for their immediate object the acquisition of plunder and ulteriorly the subversion of order. It is certain, that, had their first attempt been crowned with success, had they succeeded in arming themselves, and providing, themselves with, horses and treasure, they would have been joined by all the abandoned characters in the country, and their excitement would not have effected without much trouble. By the timely preparation at Kotla their efforts were defeated, and by the active exertions of the Patiala officials this miserable attempt at rebellion has been stamped out but others of their stamp must be deterred from following so bad an example and that the warning should be effectual, and that must be prompt and terrible. I have every confidence then that the Government of the Punjab will approve of the immediate execution of these prisoners who have been taken red-handed.

Letter from Mr. Cowan to the Secretary, Punjab Government, dated 8th April, Paragraph 2.

About noon of the 17th, whether before or after, he despatched the above letter is not made clear, Mr. Cowan was riding through the town of of Malhr Kotla, when he received Mr. Forsyth's letter and first demi-official note, which has been lost, and which desired, Mr. Cowan to keep the prisoners at Sherpur till a guard could be sent from Ludhiana.

Letter dated 8th April paragraph 3.

Mr. Cowan says of this note "I put the note in my pocket, and thought it contained only a suggestion, which could not be acted upon, for the captured Kukas were then close to Kotla on their way in.

Lieutenant Colonel Perkin's diary of the 17th January.

It was late in the afternoon, about 4 P.M. when the prisoners arrived at Malehr Kotla, and Mr. Cowan must have proceeded almost at once to carry out his expressed intentions, for the whole of the executions were over by 7 P.M. After the last six or seven men had been already lashed to the guns, preparatory to blowing them away, Mr. Cowan received Mr. Forsyth's letter to send up the men to him for trial. Mr. Cowan says, "After reading Mr. Forsyth's letter, I handed it to Mr. C.E. Perkins

with the remarks that it would be impossible to stay the execution of the men already tied to the guns, that such a proceeding would have the worst effect on the people around us.

After the execution was over, Mr. Cowan also received Mr. Forsyth's private letter begging him not to proceed summarily. Mr. Cowan's own account of the execution is contained in the letter he wrote to Mr. Forsyth on the evening of the 17th.

Mr. Cowan's letter to Mr. Forsyth No. 18, dated 17th January.

In continuation of my letter to your address of this morning date, I have the honour to report to you that 68 rebel Kukas were brought in today from Rurr. Of them two were women, having 66 men, 22 of the men were wounded, most of them slightly.

2. The conduct of these prisoners was most defiant and unruly, they poured forth the most abusive language towards the Government and Chiefs of native states. All of them admitted that they were present at the attacks on Malodh and Kotla, and gloried for the act. They said that they had attacked Malodh for the purpose of procuring arms, and Kotla because their religion required them to slay killers of the cows.

3. The two women were resident of Patiala state, and I made them over to the Officer Commanding Patiala troops for conveyance to Patiala. 49 of rebels were blown away from guns this afternoon on the parade ground of the Kotla Chief in the presence of the troops of the Patiala, Nabha, Jhind and Kotla States. It was my intention to have had 50 men blown away, and to have sent the remaining 16 rebels to Malodh, to be executed there to-morrow, but one man escaped from the guards, and made a furious attack upon me, seizing me by the beard, and endeavouring to strangle me, and as he was a very powerful man, I had considerable difficulty in releasing myself. He then made a savage attack on some officers of the Native States who were standing near us. These officers drew their swords and cut him down.

See the Lieutenant Colonel Parkins diary, of the 17th January.

4. This was most painful duty, and it was made inexpressibly painful to me by the receipt of your letter of to-day's date, received, as the last batch was being tied to the guns, desiring me to make an inquiry and to forward the proceedings to you for punishment. In carrying out the execution of my own sentence, I acted in the honest and sincere conviction that I was acting in the best interests of Government.

A rebellion which might have attained large dimensions was nipped in the bud and a terrible and prompt punishment was in my opinion absolutely necessary to prevent the recurrence at a similar rising.

5. I most sincerely trust that you will after the explanation approve of what I have done. I am placed in a most difficult position here with reference to the 16 rebels who have remained unpunished. It was as have stated, my intention to have sent them for execution to Malodh to-morrow, and I honestly believe that you will sanction my carrying out my sentence at once. I believe that these execution have had and will have a most happy effect on the people of these parts, their shouts and remarks wherever I go all show this.

6. I purpose dismissing to-morrow morning to their respective States the troops assembled here, and shall remain here till noon to-morrow in the hope of receiving an order from you sanctioning my carrying out sentence on the remaining Kuka rebels. Should you not accord this sanction, I will make inquiry and forward to you for orders.

P.S. Among the rebels blown away were Hira Singh, and Lehna Singh the leaders of the gang and instigators of the outbreak.

A further postscript mentions the arrest of a Subah and three other Kukas in the neighbourhood, which, however, is not a material circumstance.

During this interval Mr. Forsyth was still at Ludhiana as he had been charged with

the duty of placing under detention Ram Singh the Kuka Guru, and he waited to effect this important object.

Demi-official from Captain Menzies, dated Ludhiana 18th January enclosure in letter from Secretary to the Punjab Government, No. 9C, dated 19th January to Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

It was, however, affected at 2 A.M. in the morning of the 18th January, and Ram Singh was despatched by train to Delhi at 4 A.M. the same morning. Shortly afterwards Mr. Forsyth with a detachment of the 12th Bengal Cavalry left for Malodh.

Mr. Forsyth letters to the Secretary Punjab Government dated 18th January and 4th April 1872.

In the interim he had examined Ram Singh who professed that his sect has passed wholly beyond his control.

Before leaving Ludhiana he addressed the following letter to Mr. Cowan in reply to his official letter No. 16 given above.

“My dear Cowan I fully approve and confirm all you have done. You have acted admirably. I am coming out.”

Mr. Forsyth's final proceeding enclosure in letter from Punjab Government No. 76 C. dated 14th February.

On the 18th whether before or after Mr. Forsyth's arrival is not clear Mr. Cowan sitting with the Nazim and Tehsildar of Kotla held a formal inquiry into the case of the 16 men yet remaining.

Mr. Cowan order was following :

“The whole of accused in this case were captured immediately after the attack on the town of Kotla. They had in their possession arms, which were deeply stained with blood, and property stolen from the State of Kotla and the Malodh.

The whole of the accused make admissions which amounts to confession of guilt, and of their guilt no reasonable doubt can be even traced. The offences these men have committed are no ordinary ones. They have committed an act of open rebellion, and deserve the severest penalty of the law. I commit the

accused for punishment to the Commissioner and Agent for the Kotla State.

Mr. Forsyth appears at once to have persued the cases, and to have appended his remarks to each deposition and statement, and finally, after summing up the evidence on which the case rested, recorded Judgement in the following terms.

“It is impossible to discriminate now between those who actually struck the blow which caused the death of these men, nor at this moment would it be wise to display leniency towards a gang, every one of whom is, according to law, liable to the same punishment.”

“The intentions of the gang are clearly indicated by their leader Ram Singh, vide the statement made to me at Ludhiana on the 18th. As regards the prisoners, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 13, 15, and 16, their statements are ample confessions of their being actually inside Kotla. nos. 8 and 9 admit being at Koltā ; nos. 6, 11 14 admit being with the gang when caught, and their admissions coupled with the statements of 3, and 4, leave no doubt in my mind that they were of the gang, and are, therefore equally liable to punishments, I concur with the committing officer, and confirm the sentence of death against all, to be carried out into immediate executions.”

Col. Perkin's report,
dated 6th February.

Civil Surgeon's report
attached to record of trial,
paragraph 11.

The sixteen remaining prisoners were accordingly hanged the same day. (blown away by guns compiler) Mr. Forsyth, the next day, proceeded to Malodh, where he tried the four prisoners, for whose immediate execution Mr. Cowan had, in the first instance, pressed. After convicting, Mr. Forsyth recorded his opinion as follows :

“For two reasons I hesitate to put in force the extreme penalty of the law. Severe example have just been made at Malehr Kotla, and there is room now for a display of clemency.”

“The second reasons is that all the prisoners are more or less severely wounded two have broken limbs, and possible the life of one is in

danger. I remit the sentence of death, and pass a sentence of transportation for life against the Prisoners."

Civil Surgeon's report attached to record of trial, paragraph 11.

These sentences are all of which any record is before the Government of India; it is not said what became of the prisoners originally captured at Malehr Kotla itself, but of these at least one was dangerously wounded.

The first news of the attack on Malodh was received by the Government of the Punjab, On the 15th, intelligence was at once sent to the Viceroy who on the 16th, ordered an immediate enquiry by the most experienced officer available. On the 16th the news of the attack on Malehr Kotla was recieved by the Punjab Government. The Lieutenant-Governor, in sending it on to the Government of India reported that he had arranged to send troops to the spot, and had ordered the arrest of Ram Singh and his influential Subahs. Some Cavalry and Native Infantry were at once despatched to support the civil officers and to effect these arrests.

The Government of India approved these measures. On the 18th, Punjab Government wrote that under circumstances as explained 49 Kukas had been blown from guns by Mr. Cowan, and that explanation had been called for. Early on the 19th, the Viceroy telegraphed to stop any summary execution of the Kukas, but the sixteen additional men at Malehr Kotla had been already hanged. (Blown away from guns. Compiler).

DOCUMENT 10

(Regarding the execution of the Kooka prisoners not in chronological order, but subjectwise compiler.)

From

Lieut. Colonal P. N. Perkins,
District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana.

To

Major A. H. Bamfield, Deputy Inspector General
of Police, Ambala Circle.

(no. 56) dated Ludhiana, the 6th february 1872.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 157 of 29th ultimo, calling upon me for an official report of the proceedings of the late Kooka outbreak etc.

As the Inspector General was informed of each day's occurrences by special report during the whole of the time I was absent at Malodh and Kotla with Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner, I can but recapitulate the events of each day as already reported. The Deputy Commissioner taking the case into his own hands from the first, I only acted under his orders and carried into effect his wishes.

The assemblage of the Kookas at Bhaini (to which there was no restriction) for the Lohri festival commenced on or about the 10th ultmo, everything went on quietly, parties arriving or leaving each day, the whole breaking up and going off to their homes by the 13th with the exception of some 80 men headed by Hira Singh of Sukroudi, Patiala. This individual, it appears had determined to avenge the death of one Gyani Ruttan Singh (Gyani and Ruttan Singh are two separate men, but hung at the same time), a Subah (lately hung at Ludhiana for the Raikot murder), and openly expressing his intention when starting from Bhainee, induced a number of other desperadoes to join him, intimating an intention of proceeding to Kotla where they hope to possess themselves of treasure, arms, etc.

The Deputy Inspector of Sanehwal, Sarfrazkhan, who was present at Bhainee, on hearing of this, sent a sergeant to follow them up, and on the return of this man with the report that the party had gone to "Rampore" in Patiala territory, wrote to the Thanedar of Doraha in whose ilaqa they then were and came into Ludhiana to report the matter in person. On his arrival I took him over to the Deputy Commissioner who immediately had the information conveyed to Vakils of Patiala and Kotla. Nothing more was heard during the 14th and it was hoped, that the band had broken up, but on the following morning an account of the attack on Malodh was received from the Deputy Inspector of Dehlon, upon which, the Deputy Commissioner and myself started for the scene of action, and on the road were met by a sowar from Kotla with information of another attack having been made on that place at 8 A. M. that morning. The man stating, that when he left, the place was surrounded by Kookas and heavy fighting going on 'Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner immediately wrote a telegram, requesting that troops might be sent, dispatching it by the Kotla Sowar to Ludhiana. On arrival at Malodh the place was inspected and arrangements made for the security of the village and the prisoners found placed under a proper police guard.

The band on leaving Bhainee, appeared to have remained but a short time at Rampore, and then started south, passing through the Patiala territory, and putting up for the night at a well belonging to one of the Kooka fraternity, near village Rubbon in Dehlon Thana on the confines of the district. Here they remained the night (13th) and up to the evening of the following day (14th).

At Rubbu it appears from the statements of the prisoners that the idea was first mooted of taking Malodh on their way in hopes of obtaining arms, etc., from the Sirdar.

They left Rubho about 8 P. M. and entered the village by the West gate, leaving sentries to protect the same. One party proceeded at once to the house of Sirdar Buddun Singh, Honourary Magistrate, whom they attacked and wounded in the neck. Another party went to the stables, and took away four horses. Nubbee Bukhsh, the Moonshe was killed near the

Sirdar's kutchery. The whole street was full of men, who were pelted with bricks etc., from the roofs of the houses by the villagers, two of the Kookas being killed and several wounded. The Kookas possessed themselves here of three swords and a double barreled gun, remaining about an hour, and then left in the direction of Kotla, leaving behind them the killed and wounded, one shot through the arm by a shikari, and the others disabled by bricks and lathis.

The Deputy Commissioner was occupied the following morning (16) in examining the accused parties, and Ram Singh arrived about 12 O' clock, having been sent for from Bhainee the previous day; but the Deputy Commissioner being anxious to push on to Kotla, Ram Singh was told he would be called into Ludhiana, if wanted.

We then left for Kotla and on the road met the Risalas of Jheend and Nabha also the Naib Nazim of OMURGHUR, Wazir Ali (Niaz Ali—Compiler) who reported his having been successful in capturing nearly the whole gang near Sherpore Patiala. On our arrival at Kotla, the greatest consternation and alarm still existed amongst the officials and towns people, which only subsided on the appearance of the contingents of surrounding states, for it was generally apprehended, from the constant reports from the neighbourhood, of small body of Kookas collecting in all directions, that another attack would take place.

The following morning (17th) Deputy Commissioner and myself inspected the city and scene of action. The gang appeared to have had but little difficulty in entering the town through a large space in the dilapidated wall and to have met with little or no opposition until they reached the palace square, where they were met by the Thanedar, and a few men, and here the only real fighting took place, 15 being killed on both sides. The Thanedar is said to have killed three of the assailants with his own hands before succumbed to a sword wound on the head.

The Kookas evidently hoped to get into the treasury, but luckily breaking open the wrong door, found only a few papers.

misals, etc. in the place. They also took some arms out of a Kothi, but not finding any ammunition threw them down a well and they were afterwards recovered. The Kotla people were evidently unprepared for the attack, this they say was in consequence of the short notice received, the report from their Vakil only reaching Kotla at 6 P.M. on the 14th. The man having been informed by me at 11, O'clock on the previous night (13), and the distance being only 31 miles.

As the prisoners had not made their appearance up to 12, O'clock, I after, consultation with the Deputy Commissioner went out with a few horse to meet them some six miles from Kotla, and brought them in, in safety. A more determined set of ruffians I never saw, several of them on the way in were excessively abusive, declaring they wanted no other government but of their own sect.

It was determined by the Deputy Commissioner summarily to execute 50 of the 68 captured by blowing them away from guns, reserving sixteen to be hung at Malodh, and in consequence arrangements were made for the execution to take place that evening, which were duly carried out, a letter from the Commissioner arriving too late to stop the same.

I should have mentioned, that on my meeting the party, I found that Hira Singh Lehna Singh, the leaders of the gang, had been taken, and the former informed me, that the whole of the gang had been captured.

During the executions a most savage attack was made upon the Deputy Commissioner by one of the prisoners, who was instantly cut to pieces. The following day (18), the Commissioner escorted by a detachment of the 12th cavalry under the Command of Colonel Gough, arrived and confirmed, Mr. Cowan's proceedings of the previous day. He also held a formal trial of the remaining prisoners, and sentenced them also to suffer death, thus showing that he considered the outbreak a serious one, and one from which unless dealt with severely at the first, very great danger to the state was to be apprehended.

In the evening a Durbar was held by the Commissioner for the distribution of rewards to those who had done good service towards the capture of the gang, etc.

The following morning the Commissioner and the party returned to Malodh, where he was occupied during the day in trying the four prisoners at the place ; they were sentenced to be hung, a sentence, which was afterwards commuted to transportation for life.

On the 18th, information was frequently received that small parties of Kukas from various quarters were flocking towards Kotla, and these gangs apparently dispersed on hearing of the executions.

On the morning of the 20th, the Commissioner after receiving visits from the Sardars of Malodh, Rampur and Bhir, left for DELHON and Ludhiana, Deputy Commissioner, Colonel Gough and myself accompanying him.

I should have mentioned that the Civil Surgeon Dr. Ince went with us to Malodh on the 15th and on the following morning preceded us to Kotla, and returned to Ludhiana in the evening of the same day.

Referring to paragraph No 2 of the letter, I am not aware of the extraordinary measures for information, etc. being in force consequent on the Raikot murders other than the arrangements I found on my receiving charge of the district at the latter end of November which were those of Extra Assistant Commissioner Narain Singh, having been specially appointed to keep a lookout on the movements of the sect, and report direct to the Commissioner and Deputy Inspector General ; also a few men told off here and there through the districts to report anything suspicious. The Kukas, however, were particularly quiet previous to the late outbreak, which appears to have been quite a premature affair, and I believe against the wishes of Ram Singh, whose plans for a far more serious disturbance were thus, as it turned out, fortunately anticipated.

In conclusion, I have much pleasure in stating that the police worked well and willingly.

DOCUMENT No. 10

Note regarding the execution of Kookas on 17th and 18th January 1872-, arranged subjectwise not in chronological order (compiler).

Telegram Dated the 7th Feb, 1872.

From

The Government of India.

To

The Secretary of State for India, London.

About one hundred and twenty-five Kukas attacked Maler kotla, fifteenth January were repulsed, eight killed, nine captured. Of the rest sixty-eight surrendered next day, twenty-seven wounded, to an officer and three troopers of Patiala, were made over to the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana at Maler Kotla, of which state he was in charge, pending disputed succession, and where about seven hundred and fifty Patiala, Jheend and Nabha troops with nine guns had joined him. Deputy Commissioner on seventeenth without formal trial or needful sanction of Commissioner, illegally blew away forty-nine from guns. Commissioner arriving next day tried legally and hanged (*Compiler, blew away from guns*) sixteen others. Government of India wholly disapproved these wholesale executions which seems quite unjustifiable and has suspended Deputy Commissioner pending further inquiry. Everything now quiet.

DOCUMENT No. 10 A.

Translation of Memorandum by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

Dated 19th January, 1872.

Be it known that 68 of the insurgents of the kuka sect who attacked the towns of Maloudh, in the Ludhiana district, and Kotla of Afgans on the 14th of January 1872, were apprehended

through the energy of Syad Niaz Ali, Naib Nazim of Amargarh, and were blown from the cannon mouth at Kotla, by order of the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana. it is believed that all those who took part in the outbreak have now been punished, but for an advisable and necessary precaution all those subjects of the state, who went to Bhaini to Ram Singh, the leader of the above-mentioned sect, on the occasion of the Lohri Festival, previous to the recent outbreak must be arrested and confined till such time as they prove to the satisfaction of the Court that they did not participate in the disturbances. Arrangements must also be made that the members of this sect may not be allowed to assemble in an unlawful manner anywhere, therefore, to act in accordance with the intention of HAZUR (The Maharaja, Sardar DEVA SINGH, Chief Judge, be addressed to issue orders to the Nazims of the districts to arrest all the kukas in the state, who went to Ram Singh, leader of the sect on the occasion of the festival at Bhaini, and keep them in confinement till they satisfy the Court of their non-participation in the disturbance; and in such villages in which the kukas reside they be placed in the custody of the Lambardars till further orders, with distinct injunctions that the lambardars will be held answerable if they are allowed to leave their villages, and the police be strictly directed not to allow the kukas to assemble in any place, and if they find them in company, they should at once arrest them and forward them to the Court to be punished according to law. But care must be taken that the people of the sect be not subjected to unwarranted oppression, it is not the intention of the SARKAR (Patiala state), to subject them to any undue oppression, if they live in good conduct, but the intention only is this, that they may not be allowed to disturb the peace or safety of the people. So all the Faujdari and Civil officers should understand the spirit of this order, and act accordingly.

The Nazims be also ordered to confiscate property of every description of all subjects of the state belonging to those who attacked Malodh and Kotla, and explain the contents of the above (mansha) intention of the resolution of the Sarkar, to the people of the kuka sect through the Naib Nazims and

thanedars, and if they consider it advisable, to do this themselves. The men, who belong to this sect should also be arrested for the present. A copy of this memorandum be sent to the Munshikhana for the information of political officers, and another to the office of the Patiala Akhbar for publication in the newspaper."

DOCUMENT No. II

To

His Grace

The Right Hon'ble the Duke of ARGYL, K.T.
HER Majesty's Secretary of State for India, London.

FORT WILLIAM
The 19th January, 1872.

My Lord Duke,

We enclose for your Grace's information a copy of the telegrams noted in the annexed list, regarding certain disturbances created by bodies of Kookas in the Ludhiana District of the Punjab.

2. Two attacks were committed by these men—one by a body said to be 200 strong on Malodh Fort during the night of the 14th January ; the other probably by same body though estimated at 500 in number on Malerkotla on the morning of the 15th. Both attacks were repulsed.

3. In compliance with the application of the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana a strong military force was promptly despatched to his aid from Delhi and Jullundur. Meanwhile the Maharajas of Patiala, Nabha and Jhind rendered prompt assistance and about 100 Kookas who were concerned in the attack on Kotla have been killed, wounded or captured including their two leaders Lehuna Singh and Hira Singh. The Deputy Commissioner telegraphs under date the 17th instant that tranquility has been restored.

4. The leaders of the Kooka sect Guru Ram Singh was atonce ordered into Delhi by the Lt. Governor and has since been sent with two of his Lieutenants under a guard to Allahabad.

5. These are the only particulars we have yet received but enquiries are in progress as to the cases which occasioned and the persons who are engaged in these outrages. It is conjectured, however, that the object of the Kooka in their attack on Malodh and Kotla was to procure arms.

6. We await the receipt of a full report from the Lt. Governor and we shall forward it to your Grace as soon as possible.

We have the honour to be
My Lord Duke
Your Grace's most obedient
and humble Servants.

Mayo
John STRACHEY
R. TEMPLE
J.F. STEPHEN
B.H. ELLIE
H.W. NORMAN

DOCUMENT No. 11 A

Remarks on the file in Governor General's office.

Telegraph to ask whether it will not be possible to try Ram Singh and his associates for treason or conspiracy ; that this course would be, preferable to acting on Regulation III of 1818 but if this is not possible warrants will issue.

M. 19-1-72.
J. S. 19-1-72.
R. T. 19-1-72.
B. H. E. 19-1-72.
H. W. N. 19-1-72.

It will probably be necessary to issue warrants under the ordinary law, these men would have to be examined by the local Magistrate and committed to the local goal, but no time should be lost in bringing them to trial for conspiracy under the New section of the Penal Code. The courts can make very quick work of it when necessary.

I. P. S. 20-1-72

I see no order for the final issue of these warrants from His Excellency the Governor General, which should be obtained ; but as the prisoners have been sent to Allahabad, it seems, from what Mr. Stephen writes, that these warrants must issue, though I do not exactly understand why.

I do not see [any reply to the telegram sent by His Excellency.

B. H. E. 20-1-72

Mr. Cowan's act appears to have been disapproved of even by anticipation both by Mr. Forsyth and the Lt. Governor.

The tenor of reply to Punjab Govt. must be considered in Council tomorrow.

M. 22. 1. 72.
J. S. 22. 1. 72.
R. T. 22. 1. 72.
J. F. B. 22. 1. 72.

Seen and passed on.

B. H. E. 22. 1. 72.
H. W. N. 22. 1. 72

DOCUMENT II B

No. 1 of Sessions for the month of January, 1872.

Proceedings of a Court of Sessions held by T.D. Forsyth, Esq., C.B. Sessions Judge of the Ambala Division, at Malodh,

Ludhiana District, on the 19th day of January, 1872, with the aid of the following assessors : (1) Mir Hashum Khan Bahadur, Ressaldar ; (2) Gholam Kadir, Superintendent of Aub ; (3) Maatub Singh; Lumberdar of Daooda.

The CROWN VERSUS

1. Bhugwan Singh son of Ram Singh, Kooka.
2. Gyan Singh son of Dalla Singh, Kooka.
3. Thumman Singh son of Abbel Singh, Kooka.
4. Mehr Singh son of Goolaba, Kooka.

Charge. Dacoity with murder Section 396, Indian Penal Code.

Compilers note. (Only important abstracts from the file are reproduced.)

Mr. L. Cowan committed the accused to Session's Court for dacoity with murder under Section 396 of the Indian Penal Code. The evidence as well as the examination of the accused continued on the 15th and 16th January. On the 16th at Malodh Mr. Cowan passed the following order and soon after left for Malair Kotlah.

Order. Against the accused Sahub Singh there was sufficient evidence to warrant putting him on his trial. I await a report from the police before examining him and the other two remaining accused.

The 16th January, 1872.

L. COWAN
Magistrate

Order. A report is received that Ram Singh, leader of the Kookas, has been detained by the heavy rain, but will soon be here. The excuse is a reasonable one, as notice was given to him only yesterday about 1 P.M. and it has rained ever since.

As I am about to start for Kotlah notice is given that Ram Singh may return to Bhainee. He will be summoned to Ludhiana on my return, if necessary.

Adjourned

L. COWAN
Magistrate

The 16th January, 1872.

Calender of prisoners committed by the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana in the month of January 1872, to take their trial before *The Session Judge*.

(a) Name, Parentage, residence, caste and age of the accused.

- (1) Bhagwan Singh son of Ram Singh Kooka.
- (2) Gyan Singh son of Dulla Singh Kooka.
- (3) Thumman Singh son of Albul Singh Kooka.
- (4) Mehr Singh son of Goolaba Kooka.

(b) Offence and the date on which committed.

Dacoity with murder committed on the 14th January 1872.

(c) For Prosecution.

1. Dassundhee. 2. Kishna. 3. Soobha. Hari Singh.
5. Sirdar Buddun Singh. 6. Nihal Singh. 7. Sahib Singh.
8. Ram Singh. 9. Sundeer. 10. Nathwa. 11. Basawa.
12. Surfraz Khan Deputy Inspector. 13. Dhonkul. 14. Kirpa.

(d) Medical finding Evidence.

1. Dansudhee. 2. Kishna. 3. Soobha. 4. Hari Singh.
5. Sirdar Buddun Singh. 6. Nihal Singh. 7. Soobha Singh.

- (e) **Defence.** None.
- (f) **Names of Accused.** 1, 2, 3, 4.
- (g) **Date of Apprehension.** 14th January 1872.
- (h) **Whether on bail or in prison ?** Prison.

Abstract of cases

Against the four accused—Bhugwan Singh, Gyan Singh, Thumman Singh and Mehr Singh. The evidence is clear and conclusive. They are all wounded, and were taken in the very act of committing the offence with which they are charged. Their presence at the place of capture is incompatible with innocence. Some further inquiry must be made into the conduct of the remaining three prisoners who are forwarded to the District Superintendent of Police for separate inquiry and chullan. The accused Nos. 1 to 4 are committed to take their trial before the Sessions Judge, this 19th day of January, 1872. This order is explained to them, they have no witnesses.

Camp Malair Kotla, 19th January 1872.

L. COWAN
Magistrate

THE CROWN versus 1. BHUGWAN SINGH, 2. GYAN SINGH, 3. TUMMUN SINGH, and 4. MEHR SINGH.

Witness No. 1 for prosecution, SURFRAZ KHAN, Deputy Inspector of Police of Sanehwal, Ludhiana District—States on solemn affirmation ; On the 11th of this month I went to keep order at the fair there. The fair was over on the 12th. On the 13th in the morning I heard that a body of Mustanas Kookas, had separated themselves from the rest. The Lumberdar and chowkeedar told me of this, and said they were up to mischief. I then went at once to Ram Singh, and said, I wished to speak to him alone. He said these people i.e. Hira Singh and Lehna Singh, resident of Sukrodee in Patiala, are heads of this body, and won't, obey my word. I said why what

is their intention ? He gave me no answer, and only said they had become mustanas.

I asked him to give me a list of their names ; He gave me a list of 13 men. I gave that list afterwards to the Office. I have a copy here, and read it : Lehna Singh son of Mehtab Singh, and Hira Singh, head, Anoop Singh, Oodam Singh, Nund Singh, of Hadaya, Jogha Singh, Vuryam Singh, Bhag Singh of Mehraj, Narain Singh of Rur, Sahib Singh, Soojan Singh, Gyan Singh and Khan Singh, of Bulhera.

He said he knew no more. I asked how many men there were altogether; he said about 50 or 60. I then told Sookhoo Lumberdar; Dowlut Ram Lumberdar, Bhugwana Chowkeedar, and Kullander Khan Sergeant to enquire how many men there were collected in this separate body at a well close to Bhainee.

They reported the number to be about 100. After this I said to Ram Singh, you explain to them that they are to commit no disturbance and send them away. He went, and, putting his cloth round his neck, said to them, "go to your homes, and don't make a row, or it will be worse for me". They replied give us some food, and we will go. He fed them and they went away, and Ram Singh reported their departure.

I then sent the Sergeant and Hurree Singh to follow them, and find out which way they should go. They went to Rampore Kattani, in the Patiala territory.

When they reached Patiala territory the Sergeant and other returned and reported the fact. I at once wrote information to the Thanedar of Doraha. I then came to Ludhiana by the evening train, and at 10 P.M. informed the District Superintendent of Police and then the Deputy Commissioner.

I was then ordered to go to the different Vakeels and inform them.

There were about 1000 Kukas at the fair. They were occupied in reading and reciting passages, but no one said anything.

The Mustana gang frequently expressed their intention of going to Kotla.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language, which he understood and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T.D. FORSYTH,
Session Judge, Ambala Division.

Transferred to Sessions file, the Sirdar being too ill to attend Court.

The 16 January 1872. Sirdar Buddun Singh for prosecution on solemn affirmation. On evening of 14th, about 6-30 P.M., I was seated in this room. About 12 or 13 men armed, came up to the door, and came in. At first they salamed, then seized me by the hair and dragged me to the door. They said you give assistance to the English, that is not good. You are a relation of the Maharajah's. After being dragged across the doorway I seized an axe out of the hand of one of the Kookas and struck the men who were holding me with it. Before I seized the axe I was wounded in three or four places with a sword. They then ran away ; they lighted a blue light (mehtabi) to light them up my stairs. I identified out of the accused, Lukka Singh Soobah. He did not speak. I have often seen him. They asked for arms and saddles, for the horses they had taken.

L. COWAN,
Magistrate.

Witness No. 7 for prosecution, Hurree Singh, son of Sher Singh; age 50 years ; resident of Malodh ; occupation service of Sirdar, States on solemn affirmation ; I am servant to Sirdar Buddun Singh. When the Kukas came in, Sirdar Buddun Singh had come from shooting, and it was eventide. I was sitting by him when some 10 or 12 Kookas, came in and called out futch and attacked him. They asked for arms and horses. There was a scuffle, and all came outside the room. There they wounded the Sirdar by blows on the neck and head. He then seized an axe from one of them and laid about him with it, and they fled. They abused him saying he was a friend of Maharajah and a child of the English. Bishen Singh and Nihal Singh were

there at that time. I was merely pushed. There was no wound inflicted on me.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T.D. FORSYTH,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

Witness No. 8 for prosecution, Sahib Singh, son of Gurdas Singh ; age 40 years; caste Jat, resident of Kheri-States on solemn affirmation : On the evening when the Kukas came I was in my village, when a chuprassee and a sweeper came calling out that dacoit had attacked the village. I and my fellows turned out to the number of about 90 and ran to the gate of the Malodh Town ; found it shut, and protected by the Kookas. We had to go out and enter by a bastion. I went first along the street and found that the coachman had been killed. We all collected, and there was a general fight, and four of their number were struck down and captured. I did not go into the bazaar. There may have been many men killed. I do not recognize any dacoit, nor can I do so now: I thought they were ordinary marauders, but people all said they were Kookas. I had a latti in my hand ; so had others. My lumberdars came out, too, to the rescue. Of the four now in Court, two were captured just outside the town near the more, and two about 200 yards outside. It was dark. I don't recognise the men, but I knew they had been seized. My villagers had no arms, only sticks and stones. I got a wound on my shoulder, and many were wounded with stones and sticks. Of the four men who were brought in, two died. Two others were apprehended in the morning. Of the four men brought in at night, all were more or less wounded.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T.D. FORSYTH,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

Witness for prosecution, Ram Singh, son of Goorditta ; age 30 years ; caste Jat ; resident of Sumal Kha ; Lumberdar. States on solemn affirmation : I was present at the outside of the wall when two men wounded were captured and brought in. I do not recognize faces now, for it was quite dark at the time ; but these men were caught and brought in. Two men had already been captured. I saw the men being captured at the moree and brought in. Out of the four men caught at night, two died. In the morning two more were caught and brought in.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in Oordoo language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T.D. FORSYTH,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

Witness for prosecution, Sunder son of Jaia, caste Blahun ; resident of Malodh.—States on solemn affirmation : On the morning after the dacoitee I was going outside the village for necessary purpose, and saw a man going along very slowly. He was wounded on his arm, and he asked me the way to Kubberwal. I asked where he was going to, and he said to Kotlah. I ran on and told that a Kooka was outside, and the Thanedar then went out and brought him in. I recognise Tummun Singh as the man apprehended.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T.D. FORSYTH,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

Charge Dacoity with murder ; Section 396, Indian Penal Code.

Opinion of Assessors. In their opinion, after hearing the evidence for prosecution, the offence is fully proved against all the prisoners. They were all arrested on the spot and are wounded, besides they confessed their guilt.

(True translation.)

Ganga Singh,
Clerk of Court.

The 19th January, 1872.

The CROWN versus BHAGWAN SINGH, GYAN SINGH, TUMMUN SINGH, MEHR SINGH.

Dacoity with Murder, Section 396, Indian Penal Code.

The history of the case is as follows :

At an assembly of Kookas at the Maghee fair in Bhainee on the 11th and 12th January, it was decided by a party of Kookas who had worked themselves into a state of frenzy and excitement, that Gyani Singh Soobah's death must be avenged. Hira Singh and Lehna Singh of Sekrowodee in the Patiala territory were some of the leaders, if not the chief men in the business. The Deputy Inspector hearing of their excited state went to Ram Singh, the Kooka Guru, and asked the intention of these men. He gave no answer, merely saying they were Mustanas.

Subsequently Ram Singh having given the Deputy Inspector the names of 13 men, "Mustana", went to them and begged the gang to go away to their homes, and commit no row. They asked for food from him, and then went away.

Two of the prisoners now on their trial say that Lukka Singh Soobah came to the gang, when he was called on to join to avenge Gyani Singh's death or he was a pajii admai. Lukka Singh then promised to follow. This may have been said by him merely to get rid of them. They delivered their intention of going to Kotlah, Jheend, Nabha and Patiala, to take revenge on these states, because of the part taken by them in hunting down the perpetrators of the Raikot murder.

From enquiries made in the case disposed of at Kotlah, it appears that the attack was first directed against it, as being a weak and notoriously misgoverned state, so that they might get arms and money with which to attack the other places.

A gang of about 100 Kookas left Bhainee on the 13th and halted for the night at Rubboo. Next day as they passed towards Kotlah, it was suddenly determined to attack Malodh, where Sirdar Mit Singh and Budden Singh live. The party of Kookas arrived at the gate just at dark. They took possession of the gate, and proceeding through the bazar, where they dropped sentries at cross streets, so as to secure their retreat, made straight for Sirdar Mit Singh's house. Entering the gateway they found some stables on the left, and Boota Coachman. He was called on to give up horses, and on refusing was immediately cut down and killed. Dhowkul Singn Durwan, witness No. 2, had his hands tied behind him at the gate. Dussundee, witness No. 4, saw his brother Boota murdered.

The party then passed on to the house, and in one courtyard found the Sirdar's Moonshee Nubee Bux, and killed him. Kishna Rajpoot deposes to the fact.

Opposite to the courtyard is Sirdar Budden Singh's house. A party of 12 to 18 went in, seized his horses and going upstairs to his room, pretending to pay their respects, abused and attacked the Sirdar, who with great gallantry turned on his assailants, and seized an axe and laid about him right and left. The party then took flight and were pursued down the bazar by the inhabitants, who attacked them with sticks, guns, bricks, &c.

The men of the opposite village, Kheree, came to assist and drove off the Kookas. In the fight six men of the Kooka party were wounded, two died, of the remaining four, two, Bhugwan Singh and Gyan Singh, were captured just outside the wall and brought in at once.

Witnesses Sahib Singh and Ram Singh depose to the capture of these men, Sunder deposes to the apprehension of Tummun Singh just outside the village next morning.

Nuthana deposes to seizing Mehr Singh in the village of Kheree not a mile distant from Malodh, next morning.

All the rest escaped and attacked Kotlah, but all or nearly all were captured, and that case having occurred in independent jurisdiction has been disposed of by the Commissioner in his capacity as Agent.

There is not the slightest doubt as to the intentions or acts of the party to which these four prisoners belong and I can see no reason for not recording the sentence in which all who are concerned in dacoity with murder are involved.

The assessors are unanimous in finding the parties guilty ; their statements in fact admit guilt.

For two reasons, however, I hesitate to put into execution the extreme penalty of the law. Severe examples have just been made at Malair Kotlah, and there is room now for a display of clemency.

The second reason is that all the prisoners are more or less severely wounded. Two have broken limbs, and possibly the life of one is in danger. I therefore remit the sentence of death and pass a sentence of transportation for life against all four prisoners.

Malodh,
The 19th January 1872.

T.D. FORSYTH,
Commn. and Sessions Judge.

The CROWN versus, BHUGWAN SINGH & other.

Charge Dacoity with murder Section 396, Indian Penal Code.

The Court concurring with assessors finds that Bhugwan Singh is guilty of the offence specified in the charge, namely that Bhugwan Singh has committed the offence of dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under the Section 396 of the Indian Penal Code and the Court directs that the said Bhugwan Singh be transported for life.

T.D. FORSYTH,
Session Judge, Ambala Division.

The CROWN versus Gyan Singh & others.

Charge Dacoity with murder : Section 396, Indian Penal Code.

The court concurring with assessors finds that Gyan Singh is guilty of the offence specified in the charge, namely that he has committed the offence of dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 396 of the Indian Penal Code ; and the Court directs that the said Gyan Singh be transported for life.

T.D. FORSYTH.

Session Judge, Ambala Division.

The CROWN versus Tummun Singh & others.

Charge Dacoity with murder : Section 396, Indian Penal Code.

The court concurring with assessors finds that Tummun Singh is guilty of the offence specified in the charge, namely that he has committed the offence of dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 396 of the Indian Penal Code ; and the court directs that the said Tummun Singh be transported for life.

T.D. FORSYTH,

Session Judge, Ambala Division.

The CROWN versus MEHR SINGH.

Charge Dacoity with murder : Section 396, Indian Penal Code.

The court concurring with assessors finds that Mehr Singh is guilty of the offence specified in the charge namely that he has committed the offence of dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 396, of the Indian Penal Code, and the Court directs that the said Mehr Singh be transported for life.

T.D. FORSYTH,

Session Judge, Ambala Division.

DOCUMENT 12

*Dated the 20th January, 1872.**From*

T.D. Forsyth, Esq. C.B.
Commissioner of Ambala.

To

The Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

In continuation of my letter of 19th instant I have the honour to report that I proceeded yesterday to Malodh and held Sessions there for the trial of the prisoners who had been captured thence, and concerned in the case of dacoity with murder. Four men were put on their trial and convicted on their own confession, and sentenced to death. But it is not my intention to put this sentence into execution, because a sufficient example has been made and all four of these men are most severely wounded, and two have broken limbs. In a few days I propose to commute the sentence to transportation for life.

2. I have received a report from Capt. Menzies, Deputy Inspector General, that Capt. Baillie found 192 Kookas in the

Brahma Singh
Khan Singh Nihang
Pahara Singh
Hukma Singh
Fateh Singh
Hira Singh
Gurmukh Singh

Kuzan Singh
Harnam Singh
Hira Singh
Sumund Singh
Uttar Singh
Dharam Singh

village of Bhainee and the Subah named in the margin (Four of these Subahs, viz, the first four, were sent in to Ludhiana for

despatch to Allahabad. The remainder are kept for the present in Ludhiana pending further orders, 122 of the Kookas have been sent to their homes, the remaining 50 having no homes, and no ostensible means of living, being in fact, a dangerous class of this sect, who having sold all that they possessed hold themselves in readiness to perform any act that their leaders may order, will be called on to furnish security, or, in default, will be incarcerated for a period of two years according to law.

A number of axes (30)
were found in Ram Singh's
house

I have ordered a small police
post to be established at
Bahainee for the present.

3. At Kotla towards which place parties of Kookas have been flocking from all parts during this last week, but have suddenly disappeared when within a mile or two of the place, there is a considerable apprehension of the second attack. I have therefore ordered the Nazim to raise 100 men, well armed for the defence of the Place ; and considering the miserable state of mis-Government there, and the want of a head, owing to the contention of three factions, I recommend that a Native or European Extra Asstt : Commissioner be sent out to assume temporary charge. He need not interfere in the internal management of the State, but merely preserve order. In anticipation of approval I have directed Extra Asstt : Commissioner Narain Singh to go there. This opportunity of bringing to notice of Government the misconduct of Gulam Mohammad Khan. He took himself off to Calcutta without leave and without making proper arrangements for the administration of his estate. During his absence his son involved himself in a very unseemly row, and released men apprehended by the Nazim. To my repeated requests that he should return, Gulam Mohammad Khan has paid not the slightest heed, thus setting my authority at defiance. I have in this emergency detached his estate and placed it under the management of Nazim ; for anarchy tempted the Kookas to make this attack and if allowed to continue it may tempt them again.

4. In my letter announcing the deportation of Ram Singh, I mentioned that he had reported the intention of his followers to the police ; this was said by me on the authority of the District officers but on examining the police officer yesterday I find that the case is not nearly so favourable to Ram Singh. At assemblage of (It is said by him) thousand Kookas were at Bhainee on the 11th and 12th January. During these two days there was of course free inter-communications among the leaders and their followers. On the 13th Deputy Inspector heard that a body of 100 men "Mastana" that is who had worked themselves into frenzied excitement and a state of despera-

tion, had separated themselves from the rest and were preparing to start for Kotla. Hearing this Deputy Inspector went to Ram Singh and asked what it all meant, Ram Singh merely replied that they were "Mastana" and had passed beyond his control. The Deputy Inspector asked for a list of their names, Ram Singh only gave 13 names and said he knew nothing about the rest, though their number by all accounts was not less than 100. The Deputy Inspector then called on Ram Singh to bid them to go to their homes quietly, where upon Ram Singh went to them putting handkerchief around his neck and begging them to go away and not to get into a row.

He did not volunteer information to the police, and very little credit is deserved by him for complying with the demand of the police officer. Before me Ram Singh boasted of having given information ; had he done so on the 11th or 12 or at any time voluntarily, his excuse might avail ; but not till the last moment when the party of "Mastanas" was on the point of starting, and when the Deputy Inspector could not have time to send to head-quarter for aid to stop the proceedings, did Ram Singh confess that he had no authority over them, and in reply to the requisition of the police officer made a feeble request to his followers not to get him into trouble. It was generally known at Bhainee what the plan of operation was to be. The Deputy Inspector reported to the Deputy Commissioner that Kotla was the first object of attack, and from several mouths, and particularly from one of prisoners tried yesterday, we know that it was arranged at Bhainee and made known to all the Kookas, that Kotla being weak and torn with dissensions was to be the rendezvous where arms and money would easily be found. Thence attacks were to be made on Nabha, Jhind and Patiala after which plans were not made. Messengers were sent off at once in various directions. Roor Singh passed by rail to Amritsar. The Clerk of my Court happening to travel from Ludhiana to Ambala at that time saw ten Kookas in the train, three of whom got out at Khanna, and the rest came on to Ambala. A few days after we have reports from villages round about Kotla of parties of Kookas being seen passing along and when interrogated saying that they were going to Kotla. One prisoner states that Lakkha Singh Subha then went to the

“mastana gang” and was called on by Hira Singh and Lehna Singh to join in the attack, so as to avenge the death of Giani Singh, lately hanged at Ludhiana, and Lakkha Singh promised to follow. Shortly after Lakkha Singh was found in Ludhiana. This may not be an evidence of any guilty intention on Lakkha Singh’s part but there can be no doubt of his knowing what Ram Singh’s followers were doing, and he as one of the Chief Subahs should have put himself in communication with the officials to aid in preventing the scenes of blood-shed which followed.

5. The events of the past week and of the past year show that the Kookas are a dangerous sect over whom their leaders and Subahs have no influence for good, and it is advisable for the peace of the country that they should be prohibited from moving about the country inculcating their doctrines and that gatherings of Kookas in large numbers than 10 or 12 should not be allowed.

6. It is also advisable not to leave Ludhiana entirely without troops some time for the present until the movements of the Kooka sect cease to be troublesome.

7. I beg to bring to notice the energetic exertions of Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner, whose prompt action has put a stop to what threatened to be a serious outbreak. I regret exceedingly that his summary executions without trial should detract from the good service he has rendered, but I trust that the circumstances he was placed may be taken into consideration. Immediately on receipt of my orders he suspended proceedings and proceeded to try in proper form the remaining prisoners. Colonel Perkins has accompanied Mr. Cowan throughout the whole time and has been most energetic.

8. Colonel Baillie and Captain Menzies, Deputy Inspectors General have rendered valuable assistance. I have already alluded to the prompt assistance rendered by the Maharaja of Patiala and the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha whose services I trust may be acknowledged by His Honour the Lt. Governor.

9. There being no longer any necessity for the presence of European troops at Ludhiana, I recommended that the detach-

ment of the 54th and the Artillery be sent back to Jullundur. Colonel Gough's party of 100 sowars and the Gurkha Regiments might be allowed to remain for the present.

10. I now return to Ambala.

P.S. Since writing this report I have received your telegram directing me to stop all summary executions without the Lt. Governor's express orders. It will be seen that I had already done so, and I may here state that on my arrival at Kotla I found 30 men apprehended, of these 16 were put on their trial for being more or less prominent in the attack on Kotla and exercising the powers invested in the Commissioner, I sentenced them to death ; of the remaining 14, four have since been sentenced to transportation for life and the remainder have not been punished.

No. 161. Copy forwarded to the Foreign Department and attention drawn to paragraph 3 of Mr. Forsyth's letter to the Punjab Government dated 20th January 1872, as to the internal conditions of the Kotla State. No. opinion at present is expressed in his department as to the action taken by Mr. Forsyth, but it seems clear that it is important to establish, as soon as possible, a strong police administration in Kotla.
By order of the Governor General of India in Council.

Home Department }
Judicial. }
The 2nd February 1872. }

W.M. Soutter
Off. Under Secy.
to the Govt. of
India.

DOCUMENT No. 13

Dated 20th January 1872

From

Lt. Colonel J.C.P. Baillie,
Deputy Inspector General of Lahore, Circle.

To,

T. D. Forsyth Esq. C. B.
Commissioner Ambala Division.

I have the honour to request that having in accordance with your instruction left Ludhiana on the evening of the 17th, accompanied by 25 troopers of 12th Bengal Cavalry under Lt. and Adjutant Green for the purpose of searching for and by bringing in Ram Singh the Kooka leader. I proceeded toward Malodh, where he had last been heard of ; reaching Dehlon, I learnt that Ram Singh had left Malodh that morning, with the avowed intention of returning to Bhainee. I therefore at once went accross to Sahnewal, and had been followed thither by a Deputy Inspector of Police with an order to Ram Singh to present himself without delay before you at Ludhiana. I resolved to await the result of this Deputy Inspector's mission before taking any further steps. In the course of an hour this Deputy Inspector himself (Shah Woollee Shah) returned with the report that Ram Singh with Sahib Singh and four others had left Bhainee for Ludhiana under an escort of Deputy Inspector Golab Singh. This information I atonce reported to you by telegram.

2. From Deputy Inspector Shah Woollee Shah I further learnt that there were still some 200 Kookas and 8 Subahs arrested at Bhainee. He considers it doubtful whether they were altogether peacefully disposed. I thought it desirable to separate the Subahs from the rest. Among them would also probably be found four those for whose arrest the orders of the Govt : has been received: and in their absence the remainder will be less likely to give trouble. I therefore directed the Deputy Inspector with a few police to return to Bhainee and to send the Subahs to me, if he could induce them to come quietly, if they refused, he was to send me words and to prevent them, from leaving the village.

3. Towards morning I received by special train your instructions conforming me in the procedure, I had entered upon, and to assist in carrying out with, a party of 40 Gurkhas despatched by your orders reached me by the same train. I atonce marched off the Gurkhas towards Bhainee, and was

No : 1.	Kahn Singh	}	preparing to follow with the troopers when the 6 Subahs marginally named were brought in by the police (5 of these were men whose arrest has been specially ordered by the Govt.). I delayed to secure the seats for these by the up train to Ludhiana then due to Sahnewal and atonce left for Bhainee.
2.	Brahma Singh		
3.	Pahara Singh		
4.	Hukma Singh		
5.	Gopal Singh		
6.	Sujjan Singh		

4. We found on Ram Singh's premises a large number of Kookas (some 150) from all parts of the country, among them many "Bihangams" or men who owned to no fixed place of residence, having attached themselves entirely to the Guru. There were also several women, many unaccompanied by male relatives ; these were at work at the spinning wheel, and seemed quite domesticated. Food was in course of preparation at the Guru's Langer for the whole party.

5. We obliged all to clear out, and assembled them on the road beyond the village. Thinking it undesirable that they should remain in the neighbourhood or disperse throughout the country I had all marched into Ludhiana, with recommendation that such as had come from independent states should be made over to the vakils there of, and that the others should be deported to their homes. I then proceeded to search Ram Singh's premises for arms and papers in the presence of Lambardars from three adjacent villages. The only weapons found were 36 axes, 6 Gandassas, several quoits, a large number of Clubs and 2 Kookrees. (The latter were found in the hut occupied by Sahib Singh, Subah). Each of Ram Singh's immediate followers was possessed of one or more axes, a club and some quoits, the axes were all found concealed under the matting on which the bedding was spread, or hid among under the roof. No papers of importance were found, and no account books of any reliability. Although it was known that several of these were regularly kept by Ram Singh, it is

reported that he made away with them when the party left Bhainee for the attack on Malerkotla.

6. The search (which occupied two days, was conducted from Ist to last under my immediate superintendence, and I was careful to see that nothing was made away with the evacuees. I found in various places cash about Rs. 1500 and ornaments, gold and silver, to a considerable value. As these were for the most parts in very insecure receptacles, I deemed it advisable to collect the whole in one strong box (after preparing a list of them), together with the more valuable shawls and embroidered chogas and despatched the whole for deposit in the treasury.

I also forwarded to Sudder the boxes containing Ram Singh's wearing apparel. I then secured the premises under lock and key and placed in charge a police guard of twenty constables under Deputy Inspector Amroa Ali Shah.

7. All hangers—on of the establishment, I required to depart except sufficient men (II) to look after the live-stock, which consists of 82 heads of horses, camels and horned cattle. I also permitted to remain three males and two female servants for attending to the wants of.

(1) Jassa Singh, father of Ram Singh age, nearly 90.

(2) Boodh Singh, brother of Ram Singh aged about 50.

(3) Mussamut, Nundan, daughter of Ram Singh, with three sons (children) the latter is married but has been deserted by her husband.

I also left Waraim Singh the manager of the shop kept by Ram Singh on his premises, and one Makhan Singh, the Guru's body servant.

8. The Lambardar informed, that the treasure of at least two lakhs were believed to be buried about the place; they thought probable that the arms had been similarly secreted, thorough search however could not be conducted without first clearing out the large stores of grain, bhusa and fodder, collected in different spots, which were, I did not undertake.

9. In Bhainee itself Ram Singh was most unpopular, but too much dreaded to be made the subject of open complaint to the authorities. He had completely gained the mastery over Lambardar, whom he obliged, however unwillingly to adopt his tenets. He had a few months ago forced him to give up a piece of ground to Mullok Singh Subah, on which he had established a number of men from Sirsa, Ferozepur, Nabha, Patiala, etc., much against the wishes of Lambardar and the people of Bhainee. Most of these immigrants were employed on the new canal works. They were described as most overbearing and bullying in their treatments of the villagers. All I saw were powerful and ill-looking men. Mallock Singh being the proscribed Subah was sent for from the canal works, where he takes contracts and despatched under escort to the Suddar. His followers were required by me to quit the village of Bhainee with their families in 24 hours. They were made squaterers and had no land and connection in the village.

10. With regard to the recent outbreak of the Kookas, I learnt that who were most forward in bringing it about were, Sahib Singh, Lakha Singh, Gopal Singh, Kahn Singh, Alias Nihang Singh, Boodh Singh and Lehna Singh. (I think this information is doubtful with regard to Boodh Singh, the brother of Ram Singh, who has not very long adopted the Kooka tenets).

Lakha Singh was known to have departed for Phillour with the intention of getting a band from thence. No one doubts in the village that Ram Singh entirely approved of the expedition, and that his tardy intimation to the authorities was more "Pesh Bandee" or a ruse to save himself in the events of reverse. The Kookas we found assembled in Bhainee were also believed to be awaiting the turn but the alarm spread so fast, and troops were also soon put in motion, that they feared to leave. The people in the village state that no disguise was made in their assemblies of the real ambitious schemes of the Kookas ; they expressed surprise that so much moderation had been shown them for so long, and evinced the greatest pleasure in the anticipation that they had seen the last of Ram Singh and his Melas at Bhainee.

Dated 21st January, 1872.

From

The Commissioner and
Superintendent of Ambala Division.

To

The offg : Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

I have the honour to forward for intimation of His Honour the Lt. Governor, copy of a report received from Colonel Baillie, Deputy Inspector General of Police, who according to my instructions proceeded to Bhainee to search for arms or papers of importance in Ram Singh's home.

2. Colonel Baillie found 36 axes, 6 gandassas, several quoits and 2 Kookrees. Each of Ram Singh's immediate followers was possessed of one or more axes, a club and some quoits. One of the axes shown to me as taken from a Kooka was made of fine steel and marked with the words "Akai Sahai" in Gurmukhi.

3. No Paper of any importance were found. Colonel Baillie's report is very damaging to Ram Singh's character, as the peaceful inculcator of pure morality and faith which he arrogates to himself. His forcible location of a set of followers, described as over-bearing, bullying in their treatments of the villagers and powerful ill-looking men, on lands taken from the villagers of Bhainee, is a very unfavourable indication of his intention.

4. That the attacks on Kotla was discussed, planned, and known amongst all Kookas of Bhainee some time before the party actually started, is asserted by Colonel Baillie on the authority of the villagers and this in fact is what some of the villagers tried by me acknowledged. It is, therefore, evident that Ram Sidgh must have known what was going on, and did not volunteer to give any information. It was only when questioned by the Deputy Inspector that he admitted that a

party of Mastanas had got beyond his control, but even then he did not disclose their intention of going to Kotla. I have already alluded to this in a former letter. This fact, coupled with his admissions of knowledge of the proceedings of his followers in the Raikote and Amritsar murder cases, regarding which he acknowledged, that he maintained complete silence, will doubtless have great weight with the Lt. Governor, when considering the necessity of the step which I took in summarily deporting Ram Singh.

5. As regards his property some of which Colonel Baillie has on his own authority brought into Ludhiana, I request that orders may be given at an early date. Colonel Baillie conducted the search for arms in a regular and proper manner.

DOCUMENT No. 14

Dated 21st January 1872

From

L. Cowan Esq.
 Officiating Deputy Commissioner,
 Ludhiana.

To

T.D. Forsyth Esq. C.B.
 Commissioner-Ambala Division.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of the letter from the Secretary to Government Punjab to your address, no 22C. dated 18 th instant forwarded to me by your precept of yesterday's date, and to reply as follows :—

2. When I reached Kotla the situation was very grave. The greatest alarm and consternation prevailed throughout this part of the country. Fields were deserted and all ordinary occupations abandoned by the people of the villages between

Ludhiana and Kotla. The men were collected in crowds in the gateways of the villages, and the women on the housetops, eager for information which reached them in exaggerated form.

3. On reaching Kotla I found that the rebel gang had been captured a few miles off in the Patiala State. I received information that small parties of Kookas were flocking towards Kotla from distant parts, and I learnt that the troops of the Kotla state had given up the pursuit of the rebels and had returned to Kotla to protect the town from another attack. As the contingents from the adjoining native states had arrived, and all were close at hand, I felt confident that in the presence of such a force, and with the arrangement I hurriedly made, there was no fear of an immediate attack on Kotla or any place in its neighbourhood; but that terrible example was needed to put a stop at once to what was assuming the proportions of a rebellion, and to prevent a recurrence of similar outrages at a future time, I therefore determined to execute near the scene of their crime a number of the rebels who were taken red-handed, and all of whom confessed their crime, and to execute the remainder at Malodh. I arrived at this determination after long and painful thought. I was sensible of the great responsibility I was incurring, but I acted in the honest conviction that what I did was in the best interests of Government and of society.

4. The later information received confirms the belief that a serious outbreak was intended, and that matters were precipitated by the hasty action of this fanatical party before the arrangements of the leaders were fully matured for several days. After the attack parties of Kookas arrived from all parts, and on hearing the fate of their brethren instantly dispersed and disappeared. Had the larger number of rebels captured been detained in custody to await a formal trial, there is not the slightest doubt that similar atrocities would have been committed in other parts and that a state of anarchy would have followed.

5. With this explanation I leave myself in the hands of government. I acted from no vain motive or from cruelty or a desire to display authority. It was my sincere conviction, that the punishment, terrible as it was, was imperatively neces-

sary to prevent the spread of insurrection. One or two petty successes in other parts by other party of Kookas would have caused great numbers to flock to the rebel' standard, and the difficulties of the government would have been increased. I most conscientiously believe that the executions at Kotla prevented a much more serious rising.

DOCUMENT No. 15

Telegram

Dated the 21st January 1872.

From

Secretary Punjab Govt.,
Delhi.

To

Home Secretary, Calcutta.

Report of Kooka demonstration in Rahun unfounded. It arose from the conduct of a party of some 10 or 15 Nihangs, unconnected with the Kookas on their way to Anandpur.

DOCUMENT No. 16

Telegram

Dated 22nd January 1872

From

Home Secy. Calcutta.

To

Lt. Governor, Punjab, Delhi.

Warrants against Ram Singh and followers sent by post to Allahabad.

DOCUMENT No. 17

No. 102

Dated the 22nd January, 1872

From

E.C, BAYLEY, Esq. C.S.I.
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

To

L.H. GRIFFIN, Esq.
Off. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter Nos. 9C and 15C dated respectively the 16th and the 17th instant, reporting particulars connected with the attacks made by certain Kookas, on the Fort of Malodh and Kotla ; and in reply I am desired to State that the Governor General in Council is pleased to approve the action taken by the Hon'ble the Lt. Governor.

2. Warrants of custody under Regulation III of 1818 against Ram Singh and his Subahs (named in your letters) have been sent direct to the Magistrate of Allahabad.

DOCUMENT 17A

Dated the 22nd January 1872

From

W.M. Souttar, Esq. M.A.
Off. under Secretary, to the Govt. of India.

To

The Magistrate of Allahabad.

I am directed to enclose 11 warrants of custody issued under Regulation III of 1818 against the Kuka leader Ram Singh and certain of his influential associates who have been sent by the Punjab Govt. to Allahabad.

DOCUMENT No. 17A

No. 93 C., dated Lahore, the 22nd January 1872.

From:

L.H. GRIFFIN ; Esq , Offg Secy., to the Government
Punjab.

To

E C. BAYLEY, Esq ; C.S.I.,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

With my letters Nos 9 C and 11 C, dated 18th and 19th January last, I communicated the intended arrest of Ram Singh, the Kooka Leader, and of his principal and most influential Subahs and requested the issue of warrants under Regulation III, of 1818, for their detention. The whole of the men mentioned in my letters were arrested and despatched to Allahabad, where they are now confined. Of the action taken by the Honourable the Lt. Governor, His Excellency, the late Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, was pleased to express his entire approval.

2. Since that time it has been necessary to deport one of the Kooka leader, Sardar Mangal Singh, of Raipur and made over to the Govt. by the Maharaja of Patiala, who was desirous of his removal from the Punjab.

3. I am now directed to express the carefully considered opinion of the Lt. Governor, that Ram Singh and all his Subahs, now at Allahabad, and now referred to in the proceeding paragraph, be removed from India to Rangoon, or to such other place out of British India, which may appear to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General appropriate. Allahabad itself being on the main line of communication, and a noted place of Hindu pilgrimage is open to many objections.

4. Paragraph 12 of your letter No. 289, dated 18th instant, desired an expression of His Honour's opinion as to whether there were any substantial grounds to apprehend a rebellion on the part of the Kookas, and whether he considered

that any special measures were necessary for the prevention of such a rebellion and for the maintenance of peace.

5. Th, Lt. Governor observes that the papers, which have been submitted to the Govt. of India, show that whatever the original tendency of the Kooka doctrine may have been, they have now become of a political character; the designs of the leaders, more or less understood by the followers, being to attempt of a restoration of the Sikh power in the Punjab. The evidence which proves this is not at all of such a nature as to be placed on formal record, although the Lt. Governor believes that sufficient material has already been submitted to convince the Govt. of India of its correctness. There is in addition, the unanimous belief among loyal and intelligent natives, that the Kooka movement is one which the Govt. cannot afford to treat with indifference; the conduct and bearing of the Kookas themselves and the prophecies current among them of the near approach of the time when the English would be expelled from the country, and followers of Guru Ram Singh receive lands and honours.

6. The Hon. the Lt. Governor, while under no apprehension of any rising, which could not be promptly suppressed, is yet most strongly of opinion that the sentiments of which the Kooka creed is the outward sign and expression is one which should be if possible. eradicated. The real danger of that creed in the form, which it has assumed consists in this, that it appeals strongly to the sympathies of large section of the Native Community outside the circle of avowed Kookas. The denunciation of kine-killing and even the active measures taken against butchers at Raikote and Amritsar, have enlisted to a certain extent the sympathies of even well-disposed Hindoos; while the predictions of a restoration of the Khalsa appeal to the sympathies of all Sikhs who have not forgotten the traditions of the past, There is evidence, no doubt, to show that no general coalition exists at present between the orthodox Sikhs and the Kookas; but there is also evidence to show that the hostile feelings between these sects is less strong than formerly, in the recent large accession to the numbers of the Kookas from the ranks of the Sikhs, and in the facts that while a few years ago, no men of good family and position

had joined the new creed; there is now a considerable number of petty Sirdars and men of family among its avowed adherents.

7. There is no evidence further to show with what precise intention, or with what success Kuka emissaries have visited distant parts of India or States, on its northern border; but it may be safely presumed that the intention was political and not religious, from the open assertions of the Kookas, that they expect aid from Nepal and Kashmir, that the troops of the Cis-Sutlej states would join them in the event of a rising and that the ranks of the British army contained numerous members of their creed.

8. The wild boasts and predictions of the uneducated and fanatical men should not, the Lieut. Governor observes, be expected as true, or have assigned to them a value which they do not possess; but no indication of popular feeling can with safety be neglected by the Govt. and the Hon. Lieut. Governor is convinced that the removal of the Kooka leaders from India is necessary in the interest of general tranquility. As long as Ram Singh and his Lieutenants remain in the country, so long will his followers predict and expect his speedy return, and will continue to intrigue against the Govt., and remaining a constant source of anxiety. With his absolute removal from India, the restless and excited feelings now in existence in the Punjab may reasonably be expected to decline and in time to disappear. The Hon. Lieut. Governor has only made the recommendation of the present letter after much deliberation after having passed through much of the country lately; the scene of disturbance and after communication with all those Native and European gentlemen most likely to form an unprejudiced, calm and intelligent opinion on the state of affairs. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, whose loyalty and good spirit are well known to the Govt. of India, is very strongly of the same opinion as the Lt. Governor.

9. His Hon. trusts that the recommendation here made may receive the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General-in-Council, and that the removal of the Kooka leaders from India, at an early date, may be ordered. The Lt. Governor further considers that wherever located,

they should be confined separately, and not permitted to communicate with each other.

DOCUMENT No. 18

The Bengal *Regulation III* of 1818.

A regulation for the confinement of State Prisoners passed by the Vice-President in Council, on the 7th April 1818

PREAMBLE.

“Whereas, reasons of state embracing the due maintenance of the alliance formed by the British Government with foreign powers, the preservation of tranquility in the territories of native princes entitled to its protection, and the security of the British dominions from foreign hostility and from internal commotion, occasionally render it necessary to place under personal restraint individuals against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute any judicial proceeding or when such proceeding may not be adapted to the nature of the case, or may for other reasons be unadvisable or improper, and whereas it is fit, that in every case, of the nature herein referred to, the determination to be taken should proceed immediately from the authority of the Governor General-in-council, and whereas the ends of justice require, that when it may be determined, that any person, shall be placed under personal restraint, otherwise than in pursuance of some judicial proceeding, the grounds of such determination should from time to time come under revision. and the person affected thereby should at all times be allowed freely to bring to the notice of the Governor General-in-council, all circumstances relating either to the supposed grounds of such determination, or to the manner in which it may be executed and whereas the ends of justice also require that due attention be paid to the health of every state prisoner confined under this regulation, and that suitable provision be made for his support according to his rank in life, and to his own wants and those of his family, and whereas the reasons above declared sometime render it necessary that

the estates and lands of Zamindars, Tallokadars, and other situated within the territories dependent on the Presidency of Fort William should be attached and placed under the temporary management of the revenue authorities, without having recourse to any Judicial proceeding, and whereas it is desirable to make such legal provisions as may secure from injuring the just rights and interests of the individuals whose estates may be so attached under the direct authority of the Government, the Vice-President in Council has enacted the following rules, which are to be in effect throughout the provinces immediately subject to the Presidency of Fort William, from the date on which these may be promulgated.

II. Mode of proceeding of placing individuals under restraint as State Prisoners.

First. When the reasons stated in the Preamble of this regulation may seem to the Governor General—in Council to require that an individual should be placed under personal restraint, without any immediate view to ulterior proceedings of a Judicial nature, a Warrant of Commitment under authority of the Governor General-in-council and under the hand of the Chief Secretaries to the Government shall be issued to the officer in whose custody such person is to be placed.

Second. *Form of Warrant to be issued.* The Warrant of Commitment shall be in the following form.

“To

The (here in insert the officer’s designation.)

“Whereas the Governor General in Council for good and sufficient reasons has seen fit to determine that (herein insert the state prisoner’s name), shall be placed under personal restraint at (herein insert the name of the place), you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person, abovenamed into your custody and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.”

Fort William.

By order of the Governor General in Council
(D.C. Chief Secretary to Govt.)

Thtrd. Such Warrant to be sufficient authority for the detention of any State prisoner.

The Warrant of Commitment shall be sufficient authority of any state prisoner, in jail or other place within the territories subject to the presidency of the Fort William.

III. Officers in whose custody state prisoners may be placed, to submit to Government, Periodcal report.

Every officer in whose custody any state prisoner may be placed shall on the 1st Jany and 1st of July of each year, submit a report to the Governor General-in-Council, through the Secretary to the Government, in the political department, of the conduct, the health, and the comfort of such state prisoner, in order that the Governor General in Council may determine, whether the orders for his detention shall continue in force or shall be modified.

IV. State Prisoners in the custody of the ZILLAH or City Magistrate to be visited by the Judge of the Circuit at the Sessions.

First. When any state prisener is in the custody of Zillah or city Magistrate, the Judge of Circuit are to visit such state prisoner on the occasion of the periodical session, and they are to issue any orders concerning the treatment of the state prisoner which may appear to them advisable, provided they may not be inconsistent with the orders of the Governor General-in-Council issued on that head.

Second. State prisoner in custody of a police officer not being a Zillah or city Magistrate to be visited by such person as may be nominated by Government for the duty.

When any state prisoner is placed in the custody of any political officer not being a Zillah or City Magistrate, the Governor General-in-Council will instruct either the Zillah or City Magistrate, or the Judge of the Circuit or any other public officer, not being the person, in whose custody the prisoner may be placed to visit such state prisoner at stated periods, and to submit a report to Government regarding the health and treatment of such prisoner.

V. Representation which may be made by State Prisoners be submitted to Government.

The officer in whose custody any state prisoner may be placed is to forward, with such observation, as may appear necessary, every representation which such state prisoner may from time to time be desirous of submitting to the Governor-General in Council.

VI. Early report to be made to the Government regarding the nature of the confinement, the health and the allowances granted to the state prisoners.

Every officer, in whose custody any state prisoner may be placed shall, as soon, after taking such prisoner in his custody as may be practicable, report to the Governor-General in Council, whether the degree of confinement to which he may be subjected appears liable to injure his health, and whether the allowance, fixed for his support be adequate to the supply of his own wants and those of his family, according to their rank in life.

VII. The allowance fixed for the support of a State Prisoner to be duly appropriated to that object.

Every officer in whose custody any state prisoner may be placed, shall take care that the allowance fixed for the support of such state prisoner is duly appropriated to that object.

VIII. The Provisions contained in sections III to VII of the present regulation; applicable to all persons, who are now confined as state prisoners.

The provisions contained in sections III, IV, V, VI, and VII of this regulation are hereby declared to be applicable to all persons who are now confined as State Prisoners under the authority of the Government, within the territories subject to the presidency of the Fort William.

IX. Rules for the attachment of Estates or lands by the orders of the Government without a previous decision of a Court of Judge.

Whereas the Governor General-in-Council, for the reasons declared in the Preamble to this Regulation shall judge it necessary to attach the estate or lands of any Zamindar, Jageerdar, Talookdar or other person, without any previous decision of a court of Justice, or other Judicial proceeding, the grounds on which the resolution of Government may have been adopted, and such other information connected with the case, as may appear essential, shall be communicated under the hand of one of the Secretaries of the Government, to the Judge and Magistrate of the district in which the lands or estates may be situated, to the Provincial court of appeal and circuit and the Sudder Dewany Adawalat and Nizamat Adawlat.

X. Lands or Estates so attached, to be placed under the Management of the Officers of Government in the Revenue department.

First. The lands or estatee which may be so temporarily attached shall be held under management of the officers of the Government, in the revenue department, and the collection shall be made and adjudged on the same principles as those of other estates held under *Khas* management.

Second And not liable to be sold on account of decrees of Civil Courts or otherwise while under attachment.

Such lands of estates shall not be liable to be sold in execution of decrees of civil courts, or for the realization of fine or otherwise during the period in which they may be so held under attachment.

Third. The Government will make such arrangements as may be proper, for the satisfaction of the decrees of the civil courts in such instances.

In the cases mentioned in the preceding clause the Government will make such arrangement as may be fair, and equitable for the satisfaction of the decrees of the Civil courts.

XI. Rules to be observed in cases, where Government may order the release of an estate from attachment.

Whenever the GovernorGeneral-in-Council shall be of opinion that the circumstances which rendered the attachment of such estate necessary have ceased to operate, and that the management of the estate can be committed to the hands of the proprietor without public hazard or inconvenience the revenue authorities will be directed to release the estate from attachment, to adjust the accounts of the collections, during the period in which they may have been superintended by the officers of the Government, and to pay over to the proprietor the profits from the estate, which may have accumulated during the attachment.

DOCUMENT 22

Telegram dated the 22nd Jan., 1872,

From

Secretary Punjab Govt. Delhi.

To

Home Secretary, Calcuatta.

A report was received yesterday that the telegraph wire was cut between Ludhiana and Ferozepur and the Kookas were marching on the latter place. No. truth in the report.

DOCUMENT 22 A

From

T.D. Forsyth, Esq. C.B. Commissioner
Ambala Division.

To

The Secretary to the Government
of the Punjab

No. 27 Dated 22th January—1872

I have the honour to forward the explanation (letter dated 21st January from Deputy Commissioner Ludhiana) called for from Mr. Cowan Deputy Commissioner, in your no 22 c. dated 18th instant.

2. I also forward copies of instructions which I sent to Mr. Cowan, and refer to you my telegram to you, copy sent herewith (from Commissioner Ludhiana to Secretary dated 17th January, 0—h—20) and your reply, and to my official letter of 18th instant to Mr. Cowan, copy of which I forwarded to you some days ago.

3. In considering Mr. Cowan's proceedings it is necessary to distinguish between acts done in British territory and those done in Native States to which our penal and procedural codes do not apply.

4. The procedure in native states, such as Kotla, is for head of the state to prepare a case of murder by taking evidence of witnesses, defence of accused, etc, then to pass sentence and forward the case for sanction of the Commissioner of the Division.

5. As the Honour is aware, I from the outset deprecated any departure from the regular course and sent out instructions at once to Mr. Cowan to this effect. They unfortunately did not arrive until he had disposed off 50 men.

6. I regret exceedingly his hasty action on Mr. Cowan's part. His reason for such is that he felt it necessary to stamp out the incipient rebellion by a swift and terrible punishment. That his prompt and vigorous action had this effect is, I think, undoubted.

7. A party of 100 men, who had devoted themselves to death to carry out the plan of their leader, left, the village of their Guru with the intention of *seizing* the defenceless state of Malair Kotla, and possessing themselves of arms and treasure, to be distributed to the rest of their sect, who were to flock round Kotla from all sides.

8. As they passed Malodh, sudden impulse prompted them to attack that place. Had all the men being caught at Malodh all would have been liable under section 396, Indian Penal Code (Dacoity with murder) to sentence of death ; but probably it would have been considered, that all were not equally guilty; as all might not have clearly apprehended the nature of the expedition on which they had embarked. Moreover the British Government is strong enough to maintain order without having recourse to wholesale execution in order to create a deterrent effect.

9. The case, however, was very different when the same party passed on to Kotla. Not one of these men could plead

ignorance of the object in pursuit. They knew, that blood rested on the head of the whole gang, and that they would probably shed more blood. No mercy then could be expected for them at the hands of the state they were to attack. Nor could the Malair Kotla state afford to show any signs of weakness. They had been attacked once, and, unless the assailants were thoroughly cowed, they might be attacked again. It was in fact from fear of a second attack by a large body of Kookas that the Nazim returned so suddenly to Kotla from Rurr, whither he had followed the gang.

10. It appeared to me then only right that a severe and prompt example be made and I was prepared to confirm the sentence of death against all those proved on trial to have been actually engaged in the attack on Kotla. I should certainly have exempted from capital punishment those who had been severely wounded and their number was nearly twenty, but all the rest I should have condemned to death, and in fact did condemn 16 men, after fair trial.

11. Mr. Cowan's action placed me in an embareassing position. When I firstly received his report I was under the impression that he had conducted the proceedings according to the custom in the native states and had merely usurped my power of sanction. It seems to me an unworthy act to suddenly disown the overzealous proceedings of an officer to whom the Lieutenant Governor had just sent a telegram applauding his energy and zeal with reference to my own suggestion to moderate that zeal.

12. I therefore determined to confirm Mr. Cowan's acts so far as regards his usurpation of the Commissioner's authority. As there are no records of trial, none being held by him, I am unable to do otherwise than accept Mr. Cowan's assurances, that all the men were actually present at the attack on Kotla, and if so, all were equally liable to capital punishment, though as regards the severly wounded, execution ought to have been stayed.

13. Had I at once disowned Mr. Cowan's act and mitigated the sentence on those who were subsequently regularly tried and convicted after the proceedings had been sent to me

at a time too, when bands of Kookas were flocking to Kotla, to join the advance party, leniency on my part might have been mistaken for weakness. I therefore allowed the full sentence to be executed as regards those Kotla assailants whose active complicity was legally established. But I took occasion, on the trial of the men concerned in the Malodh murders, to mitigate the severity of the former proceedings, and a telegram received the next day from you conveying the Lieutenant Governor's orders confirmed the Judgment I had arrived at.

14. While lamenting the hasty and irregular action of Mr. Cowan I am bound to express my conviction, that the very prompt and terrible measures taken by him crushed in its birth a very serious out-break, and I trust the excellent services he has rendered may be put against the irregularities and severity of procedure.

DOCUMENT 23

Telegram

Dated the 23rd January 1875.

From

Secretary Punjab Govt., Delhi.

To

Home Secretary, Calcutta.

Everything upto this time has remained quiet at Ludhiana and elsewhere.

DOCUMENT 23 A

KUKAS

Memo no. 11.

Dated Lahore, 23rd January 1872.

From

Under Secretary to Government Punjab,
Police Department.

To

All Commissioners and Deputy
Inspectors-General of Police.

His Honour the Lieutenant Governor is pleased to direct that, parties of Kukas, consisting of five or more than 5 are not to assemble in same place. more persons, shall not be allowed to assemble ; and that it shall be the duty of the police to disperse all Kuka assemblies coming under this order, reporting the fact atonce to the nearest Magisterate.

Issue Subsidiary orders
to Subordinate Police.

2. Requests issue of such orders as may be deemed necessary for the guidance of their subordinates.

DOCUMENT 24

No. 122, dated the 24th January 1872.

From

E.C. BAYLEY, Esq.
C.S.1. Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

To

The Secretary to the Govt. of the Punjab.

I am directed to acknowledge your letter quoted in the margin, reporting on the recent attack by the fanatical Kookas on Malodh and Malerkotla. The Governor General has already by telegraph approved generally of the action taken by the Lt. Governor in despatching troops to the seat of the disturbance, and in arresting and removing from the neighbourhood Ram Singh and his most influential Subahs. Warrants for their detention under Regulation III of 1818 have been already sent to the Magistrate of Allahabad.

2. The local officers acted with promptitude and vigour on the first intelligence of the disturbance, but the subsequent proceedings seem to require serious notice. His Honour states that he regrets the course taken by the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, Mr. Cowan in summarily executing the Kooke insurgents captured in the Patiala territory. The Government of India fully shares in the regret expressed by His Honour, and is of opinion that the papers submitted show nothing to justify the course taken.

3. Under these circumstances His Excellency in Council feels constrained to request that you will suspend Mr. Cowan until further orders, and awaits with anxiety such explanations as Mr. Cowan may have to offer and the expression of His Honour's opinion on the whole subject.

4. The local prompt and efficient assistance given by the troops and officers of Patiala, Jhind and Nabha States, nodoubt contributed materially to the suppression of the disturbances and to prevent their spread. I am to express His Excellency's satisfaction with their conduct.

DOCUMENT 24

No. 35, dated the 24th January 1872.

From

T.B. Forsyth Esq. C.B.,
Commissioner Ambala Division.

To

L.H. Griffin, Esq.
Offg. Secretary to the Govt. of the Punjab.

I understand from you that one or two of my official letters give the impression that I consider the measure of deporting Ram Singh was one taken on my own responsibility, whereas the Hon. the Lt. Governor had given me special instructions to arrest and deport Ram Singh.

2. It will be well for me to place on record facts and to explain the passages in my letters to which you have referred.

3. I was in His Honour's Camp when the news of the first attack on Malodh was received. His Honour will remember that a conference was held by him with the Inspector General of Police and yourself; at which I was present. I then received verbal instructions to proceed to Ludhiana and report before any orders would be given about Ram Singh. Subsequently the news of the second attack was received, and then it was decided that more expedient measures should be taken. I certainly understood that I was to arrest and deport Ram Singh, but I as clearly understood from His Honour that I was to receive written instructions on the subject.

4. I looked for these instructions up to the time of my arresting Ram Singh, but all that I received were the orders to arrest and deport sundry Subahs.

5. I did not delay action because of the non-arrival of the orders, but knowing full well that written orders are the rule, and that all action taken on verbal instructions throws a certain

amount of responsibility on the officer taking that action, I gave my reasons in full for summarily deporting Ram Singh. I might have merely quoted His Honour's verbal instructions and looked for official ratification, which possibly for good reasons it might have been proper to with-hold. What you appear to consider a defence of my conduct was in reality an explanation of the causes which would justify the measure by the Punjab authorities.

6. It was for this reason that I wrote, and not from my any desire to arrogate to myself the credit; when the credit was not due

7. I shall feel obliged if you will cause this letter to be appended as a continuation of my report of Ram Singh's deportation dated 18th Jan.

DOCUMENT 25

From

L.H. Griffix, Esq., officiating Secretary
the Government of the Punjab.

To

E.C. Bayley Esq., C.S.I. Secretary to the
Government of India (no 36 c);
Dated camp Gungatole, the 26th January 1972.

I am directed to forward, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, a letter from the Commissioner of the Ambala division, no. 27 dated 22nd Jan., with enclosure, on the subject of the action taken by Mr. Cowan Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, on the occasion of the late Kooka outbreak.

2. His Honour the Lieutenant Governor is of the opinion that Mr. Cowan acted with great promptitude and energy in calling out the Jheend and Nabha Horse and going himself at

once to Malair Katla to aid in defence of that place and the suppression of the disturbance.

3. As regards the execution ordered and carried out by him in concert with the Malair Katla authorities, the Lieutenant Governor believes that he acted as he thought for the best, and under a strong sense of his personal responsibility for the adoption of the promptest measures for the securing of the peace of the country, and His Honour considers that much allowance must be made for the difficult position in which he was placed, and for his being unable to judge certainly to how any delay in what degree might gain head in the infliction of punishment.

4. But considering that that the Commissioner was close at hand, and that many of the prisoners taken were wounded, and all greatly dispirited, Lieutenant Governor is of opinion that Mr. Cowan would have shown more coolness and discretion, had he obtained the previous sanction of his proceedings by superior authority. It is clear, however, that this sanction would not have been withheld, as on his arrival, the Commissioner sentenced 16 more prisoners to death after trial, and, in doing so, it may be held that he did not exceed the authority vested in him as the Ex-officer Political Agent for the Malair Kotla state.

5. It may no doubt be reasonably questioned whether so many capital executions were, even under circumstances so trying necessary or expedient, and whether an example equally deterrant might not have been made by a less indiscriminate sentence. The Lieutenant Governor himself inclines to this opinion, but on the other hand it is certain that all the prisoners executed were, even under the ordinary criminal law of the British territory, guilty of capital offences, whilst the position and antecedents of the Malair Kotla state, as a solitary Muhammdan principality, constantly exposed to fanatical attacks strongly impell its authorities and inhabitants to advocate as a measure of security their repression by a severe punishment. It is said, that the Nazim returned to the town apprehensive of a repeated attack, both the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner allude to parties of Kookas flocking round Malair Katla and creating fresh alarms. The authorities

on the spot could alone correctly judge of the tendency of such demonstration, and, in His Honour's opinion, the action taken in good faith by them must be supported.

6. Adverting to paragraph 11 the Commissioner's letter from which it might erroneously be inferred that the Lieutenant Governor had approved of numerous executions ordered by Mr. Cowan, copies of telegrams in question herewith submitted. Writing in total ignorance of the large number of executions eventually carried out, Lieutenant Governmener while supporting the Commissioner in his enforcement of regular Judicial procedure, and so checking the Deputy Commissioner's precipitancy, was desirous at the same time of evincing his appreciation of the zeal and energy shown by him in following up the case.

DOCUMENT NO. 26

Accommodation for Kookas in the Central Jail,
Allahabad.

No. 55, dated Allahabad, the 25th January, 1872

From

R. Jameson, Esq.,
Superintendent, Central Jail.

To

J. C. Robertson Esq.,
Magistrate,
Allahabad.

In answer to your No. 61, of 24th instant, asking if the jail is sufficiently secure to receive into safe custody Ram Singh Kooka and ten Chiefs of the Kookas, I have the honour to reply that we can take sufficient precautions to prevent these men escaping without assistance.

2. A great part of the wall is, however, either down or so low that any number of men can easily get over it. In the event of an attempt at rescue from without, there is nothing to prevent 100 men walking inside the jail. The solitary sentry on the broken wall could easily be knocked on the head, and the rescuing party could easily begin an attack on the blocks of barracks or cells before the police guard could turn out.

3. The jail, therefore, must be considered decidedly unsafe. If there is the least likelihood for an attempt at rescue, the prisoners should not be sent to this jail.

DOCUMENT NO. 26. (A)

Dated 26th January, 1872

From

J. C. Robertson, Esq.,
Magistrate,
Allahabad.

To

E. C. Bayley, Esq., C. S. I.,
Secretary to the Government of India.

On receipt of your No. 103, dated 22nd instant, I requested the Superintendent, Central Prison, to inform me whether he could provide proper accommodation for the Kooka prisoners regarding whom the Punjab Government had telegraphed that vigilance was necessary to prevent any attempt at rescue. Copy of the Superintendent's letter is enclosed. I, yesterday, in company with Mr. Rocketts the Judge, personally inspected the Jail, and we both came to conclusion that it would be most useless to confine these men in a place where every facility exists for escape. I have, therefore, taken upon myself the responsibility of detaining the prisoners in the fort pending receipt of further instructions, which I hope may be communicated to meet at an early date. If I may venture to express

an opinion, I would suggest that the fort seems to me by far the most suitable place for detention.

DOCUMENT NO. 26 (B)

Remarks on the file in G. G's office

My dear Strachey,

See please.....(7) private note below :

I did not know of the other prisoners at Chunar. Shall I telegraph to the Commandant and see if he can take these men? The eleven men are confined under the orders of the Foreign Department. The Home Department be consulted also.

I think the Superintendent of the Benares Raja's..... (?) usually lives at Chunar..... (?)

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-E. C. Bayley.

DOCUMENT NO. 26 (C)

Allahabad.

(SEAL)

January 17/72.

Board of Revenue
N. W. P.

My dear Bayley,

Robertson wrote to you above the warrants for the Kookas in the Fort of Allahabad.

They positively cannot with any degree of security be confined in the Central Jail and the Fort is the only place for them here.

But my object in writing to you is to tell you that there is no proper accommodation for native civil prisoners in the Fort of Allahabad. And although they can remain here temporarily as a make shift. If they are to be kept in confinement for long, I think they had better been sent down to Chunar where there are proper quarter guards and all that is necessary.

You can decide whether the warrants under Regulation III of 1818 had not at once better be made out to the Commandant at Chunar and the prisoners sent down there.

They are also quite safe at Allahabad in the Jail but the only place to put them is over the gate and the conservancy arrangements are different for so many men.

I hope your ankle is alright again.

Yours Ever,
Sd/-Mr. Mayne.

DOCUMENT No. 26 (D)

(Remarks on the file in G. G's. Office)

Enclosed is a demi-official note from Mr. F.O. Mayne, C.B., of the Sudder Board of Revenue at Allahabad who suggests Chunar as a suitable place of detention. I see no objection to this.

E.C.B., 29.1.72.

CHUNAR is a quite out of the way place, and seems to me for this reason suitable than Allahabad, although the danger of rescue from the Central Prison is visionary. I think orders should be given to send them to Chunar.

J.S., 29.1.72.

CHUNAR will do very well for these men, eleven in number, but there would be no means of putting up many more prisoners. If they are to be sent to Chunar, an early communication should be made to the Military Department, as instructions should go to the Commandant of the Fort.

H.W.N., 29.1.72.

On further consideration I am disposed to think that these men had better not to go to Chunar. The more they are treated as ordinary men charged with offences, instead of as political prisoners, the better. It seems to me absurd to suppose that they cannot be kept in perfect security at the Allahabad Central Prison, and I would let them remain there. Meanwhile the Punjab Government should be urged to lose no time in bringing to trial any men against whom evidence is forthcoming.

J.S., 30.1.72.

It is, I think, a balance of evils. In the face of what the Jail Superintendent says I should not like to send them to the Central Jail, and a rescue, or even an attempt at one, would be a most serious matter. At the same time I agree with Mr. Strachey's view that they should be treated as ordinary criminals as much as possible. Why not send them to Alipore. They would be safe enough there.

Chunar would be better probably in some ways, and there is no need to tell the people where they are. I suppose when we have evidence they will go back to the Punjab to be tried.

J.S.F., 31.1.72.

If the local authorities at Allahabad decline the responsibility of guarding the prisoners there in Central Prison, then Chunar would do. But I, otherwise, agree with Mr. Strachey.

R.T., 31.1.72.

DOCUMENT No. 26 (E)

Military Department,
Government of India,
30th January, 1872.

My dear Bayley,

If you are going to send Ram Singh and Co. to Chunar, I think it is well that the Home Department should tell the Military Department that what sort of confinement is wanted.

There is no civil officer at Chunar and the G.E. should have pretty clear orders. The only prisoners are their men from Bahrein though kept within a courtyard and have very good quarters, their own servants are allowed whatever food they please.

Yours,
Sd/-

DOCUMENT No. 27

No. 26, dated the 26th January 1872.

From

L. Cowan, Esq.,
Offg. Deputy Commissioner,
Ludhiana.

To

T. D. Forsyth Esq., C. B.,
Commissioner, Ambala Division.

On receipt of the telegram, copy of which accompanies, I deputed Mr. Jackson, Adjutant, Superintendent of Police to make a thorough search of Ram Singh's premises at Bhainee for arms and treasure.

2. Mr. Jackson has returned and reports that he has made a complete search, digging up the grounds to a considerable depth wherever he thought it likely that arms or treasure might be buried, but that no trace of either has been found.

3. Ram Singh's income was largely from the gifts of his followers. Notably large sums were given to him by Mangal Singh, a Jagirdar Sardar of the Patiala State, recently put under arrest by the Maharaja, but his expenses were great. He fed large number of persons daily and it is not believed that he

accumulated treasure. Ram Singh was in the habit of lending money to his followers and in this way possibly a good deal of money was distributed ; and it is believed that when large sums came in the Subhas, Lakha Singh, Subha Singh and Gopal Singh appropriated a good portion to their own use.

4. Colonel Baillie attached all the personal property of Ram Singh including grain (nor a large store), clothings, ornaments etc., and I learnt few days ago with some surprise that the Native Police Officer at Bhainee was serving out rations to the members of Ram Singh's family out of this store of grain. As this proceedings is I believe, in excess of your instructions as I understand them and is moreover quite unnecssary. I have directed that the grain, household implements etc. may be made over to the father, brother and daughter who are residing at Bhainee.

5. The clothing, ornaments and money found in the house were sent to me by Colonel Baillie. Their value does not probably exceed Rs. 2000/-. I have addressed the Magistrate of Allahabad to know if I shall send Ram Singh's wardrobe to him and have desired that he will ask Ram Singh to whom I shall make over the money and ornaments.

6. Bhagwan Singh, one of the insurgents sentenced to death by you at Malodh has given me some further information respecting the intention of the leaders of the raiders. Had they been successful in procuring arms in Kotla they expected to be joined by large numbers. Then the main body was to proceed to attack Nabha, one detachment was to tear up the rails on this side of Ambala to prevent reinforcements arriving from Delhi and agents were to have been despatched to Ferozepur and Lahore to endeavour to effect rising in those places.

DOCUMENT No. 27 (A)

Dated the 30th January, 1872.

From

L. H. Griffin Esq.
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

To

T. D. Forsyth Esq., C. B.,
Commissioner and Supdt.,
Ambala Division.

With reference to letter from the Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana, to your address, No. 26, dated 26th January, paragraph 5, I am directed to state that none of the money or ornaments in question should be made over to any nominee of Ram Singh without the direct orders of the Government.

It is presumed that the statement of Bhagwan Singh has been formally recorded, and that it will be forwarded in due course.

DOCUMENT No. 28

No. 38C, dated Camp Chotathana, the 27th Jan. 1872.

From

L. H. Griffin, Esq.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

To

E. C. Bayley Esq., CSI,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

In forwarding in continuation of my despatch No. 23C dated 19th current, the accompanying copy of letter No. 35, dated 24th Jan. from Mr. T. D. Forsyth, C.B. Commissioner of

Ambala, on the subject of the arrest and deportation of Ram Singh. I am desired to observe that Mr. Forsyth could be under no possible doubt as to what was to be done, as he was present when the Lt. Governor explained to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that a portion of the troops sent up from Delhi would be required to aid in securing Ram Singh.

DOCUMENT No. (28 A)

Dated 28th January, 1872.

Statement of Lehna Singh officiating Tehsildar of Ludhiana on solemn affirmation. I went to Bhainee on the 15th instant by your order to inform Ram Singh that he was to join you at Malodh the next day. Ram Singh told me, that the gang of Kukas, headed by Lehna Singh and Heera Singh had gone to attack some place and that he had reported their departure to the police. He said they would be joined by many others and that he feared there would be a great disturbance (Fussad). Ram Singh also told me that at the last Dusserah festival at Bhainee it was plotted by a number of Kukas, among whom were Lehna Singh and Heera Singh to have a rising for their religion, and that he had ordered them to keep the peace, and had driven several of them out of the village. When I pressed him for further information he said, that the gang did not tell him, but they told Lakha Singh and Saheb Singh his subahs, of their intention to rise for the religion.

The Lumbardars told me that the gang had gone to attack Kotla and that they would afterwards attack JHEEND and destroy the railway but the LUMBARDARS were in a frightened state and were apparently afraid to tell me all they knew.

Taken before me this 28th January.

L. Cowan
Offg. Deputy Commissioner.

DOCUMENT No. 29

Telegram dated 29th Jan. 1872.

From

Secretary,
Punjab Government,
Camp : viz., Delhi,

To

Home Secretary,
Calcutta.

Your letter No. 122, dated 24th of January, the Lt. Governor requests that action, in accordance with the 4th paragraph of your letter may be delayed until receipt of my letter of the 26th instant, containing His Honour's views and Deputy Commissioner's explanation. He observes that the conduct of the Deputy Commissioner can hardly be considered apart from the Commissioner of the Division.

(Confidential).

No. 44C, dated Camp Sirdhana, the 30th January 1872.

From

L.H. Griffin, Esq.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

To

E.C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

In continuation of my letter No. 35C, dated 24th January, I am desired to forward copy of the report submitted by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana, No. 26, dated 26th January, of the result of the search of Ram Singh's premises at Bhainee. Copy of my reply to the Commissioner, Ambala Division, is also forwarded for information.

DOCUMENT No. 29 A*Telegram dated the 4th February 1872.**From*

Home Secretary, Calcutta.

To

Secy. Punjab Govt., Camp via Amballa.

Clear the line—Your telegram dated 29th January and letter dated 26th. Fresh papers do not alter the opinion stated in paragraph 2 of my letter of 24th January, and Government of India requests Lieutenant-Governor to act in accordance with paragraph 3 of same letter.

DOCUMENT No. 29 B*Dated 29th January, 1872.**From*

Major E.H. Paske,
Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent,
Jullundur Division.

To

The Offg. Secretary to Government,
Punjab.

I deem it a duty to bring to the notice of the local Government the good spirit and disposition evinced by the Raja of Kapoorthala on the occasion of the recent outbreak of Kukas in the Ludhiana District.

2. On receipt of intelligence of the disturbance and on the call for troops from this station, the Raja immediately communicated with me and placed all His Highness's troops at the disposal of the government.

3. For reasons I have already communicated to the government to take advantage of this offer. But I requested the Raja to have a detachment of 300 infantry and 50 sowars in readiness, at Kapoorthala for an immediate move, should their services be required and this requisition was promptly complied with. I had not, however, to call for any service from this detachment.

4. Again on, receipt of intelligence of a demonstration of Kukas at Rahon in this district, I requested the Raja to send a small detachment of 100 infantry and 25 sowars to strengthen posts in His Highness's outlying tehsil of Phagwara and to assist in the arrest of any Kukas who might try and break through that part of the country. Again this requisition was promptly met, though no war was found for the troops they returned to Kapoorthala within three or four days. Also as every available man, horse and foot, of the police force in Jullundar and Phillur had been sent on duty to watch the ferries and fords on this side of the Sutlej, I applied to the Raja for six or eight sowars to be employed as orderlies for conveying communications to and from the military cantonments. These men, I retained for two or three days only.

5. Such were the requisitions I made upon the Raja of Kapurthala in answer to His Highness's offer of assistance. Thus though no special service was rendered by the troops, occasion not requiring it, still the excellent disposition evinced by the Raja and his ministers, the readiness shown by His Highness's Thana officials of the Kapurthala State to effect the arrest of any fugitive Kukas passing through that territory, affords gratifying proof that the present Raja of Kapurthala is fully alive to his duties as a tributary chief and is actuated by a spirit of loyalty and goodwill to the British Government.

DOCUMENT No. 30

Copy of demi-official letter from L. Cowan, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana, to the Commissioner, Ambala Division, dated 31st January 1872.

"There have been several cases of sale of all their property lately by Kukas in this district. The money realised by the sale has, I am told been either given to Ram Singh, or expended in feeding small gangs of Kukas, and the Kukas who have sold their property have openly declared that their Raj is soon to commence; and that they will be repaid a hundred fold. If I can get reliable evidence on these points I will record and send it to you.

The men of the sect whom I occasionally meet have more "Swagger", about them now than before the outbreak, and I am inclining to the opinion, that the snake has been scotched only, and not killed; though it will probably be months, and perhaps years, before we have another outbreak.

Nine Kukas had a feast at Khanna on the 29th, they were beating a drum and singing when the police arrived and dispersed them (Sikhs), Khanna Lambardar has reported, that Albel Singh, a Kuka Lambardar of Pael, in the Patiala State, has threatened to murder him. Notice has been given to Pael authorities.

Lakka Singh came to Ludhiana on the afternoon of the 15th. Kotla was attacked on the morning of the 15th; he did not go to the police station or to any officer (Colonel Perkins and were at Maloudh), but was seen walking in the bazar by BAIJNATH, Inspector of Police, and on being asked what he was doing, he then said he had been sent by Ram Singh to report that a gang had left Bhaini to plunder.

The attacks on Maloudh and Kotla were both known in Ludhiana before Lakka Singh appeared.

He was taken to Mr. Rowe and afterwards placed under arrest.

A few days before the fair at Bhaini, Lakka Singh was arrested at Philour, on suspicion that he had been travelling about the Jullunder District for some bad purpose. Major Birch wrote to me asking if I would have him, but I had no case against him, and he was released. At Philour I am told

he vehemently entreated to be allowed to prosecute his journey to Bhaini.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that Lakha Singh's visit to Ludhiana on the very day of the attack on Kotla was for the purpose of collecting followers.

DOCUMENT No. 31

Chmpilers Note—The original file regarding the designs of the Kuka sect. and its leader Ram Singh is voluminous. Only most important extracts are reproduced. The Number of the file in the National Archives of India, New Delhi is Home Judicial—1872. June proceedings No. 112 to 132.

No. 389 dated the 1st February 1872.

From

J.W. Macnabb, Esq.,
Late Offg. Commr. Ambala Division.

To

L.H. GRIFFIN, Esq.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

With reference to your letter No. 37C dated 26th January, I have now the honor to forward the evidence called for by His Honor the Lieutenant Governor regarding the plans of the Kukas and their proposed method of accomplishing those plans.

2. The evidence consists of—

- I. Statements made by Ram Singh and by his followers to British Officers.
- II. Statements made by Kukas in Native States and reported through the vakils.
- III. Statements of lumberdars and chowkeedars at Bhainee.
- IV. Statements of witness to Kukas collecting around Kotla, & C.

V. Police Officers and other officials' reports and statements.

I have added notes of my own on the whole evidence thus collected, and may here give a brief summary:

3. For some time past the more ambitious of the Kukas sect have busied themselves in planning and compassing the murder of butchers so as to put a stop to cow-killing, this action being in direct defiance of the British Government.

See Appendix No. 1 also
Sessions cases in Amritsar and
Raikot murders.

Prophecies of the overthrow of the English and the Khalsa rule have been circulated amongst the Kukas, and there was a general rumour that this year, 1872, was to witness some great display of the Kuka Guru's power. Kukas sold their land and got rid of their property so as to be free to take part in the coming strife, which was expected to take place in (Cheyt) April, but was precipitated by the action of certain Subahs who, on the plea of taking vengeance for the death of Gyani Singh, hanged at Ludhiana for complicity in the butcher murders, formed the plea of sending a body of 100 men to seize capital of the the Malehr Kotla State where arms and horses would be found and distributed to the rest who should join.

II to X
Also XIV and XV.

After this an attack was to be made on Nabha, Jheend, and Patiala : the railroad between Ludihana and Ambala was to be broken up. They then expected to be joined by Kuka insurgents from all sides.

II—a
III—b

In proreutation of this design a party of Kukas proceeded from Ram Singh's village, and an attack was made by them on Kotla.

Kukas were seen advancing in that direction, expecting to find their bretheen in possession. They disappeared on hearing of the action taken by the local authorities. Lakka Singh Sooba, and chief agent of Ram Singh, was present at the consultation held at Bhainee, had promised to follow and set out to beat up recruits. Guru Ram Singh made no report of the intentions of his followers till interrogated by the Police Officer, and then only pleaded inability to restrain their acts.

XVIII to XXXI.

XXXIV

Note on the evidence regarding plans of Kuka Sect.

We have the statement of Ram Singh given before me on the 18th January last, that for some time past the Kukas had been asking leave to kill the butchers but, as he says, he forbade them. This shows that there was a design on their part to put a stop to cow-killing. Now it is well-known that, under the British rule, cow-killing is allowed, and it would be one of the first acts of a Sikh Government which got the upper hand of our Government to put an end to this practice. When the Delhi massacres were first reported in 1857, the Sikhs in Rupar at once wished to pronounce the British authority at an end, and proclaimed in the bazars that cow killing was forbidden. The Chief Sikh concerned in that business was at once hanged. The very fact then of the Kukas desiring to put a stop to this practice must have been known to one and all of them as being a symptom of a desire to take active measures for introducing the Sikh rule. Ram Singh in his statement acknowledges that there was a talk about the Amritsar murders before they were actually committed. After they were committed, he was asked to allow the Raikote murders, he says he forbade them. But, assuming this to be true, it was imperatively incumbent on him at once to report to the authorities all that he knew so as to prevent further bloodshed. His excuse, that having expressed his prohibition he thought he had done enough, will not avail, for he had adopted this course in the matter of the Amritsar murders, and yet they had been committed. There is then in my mind, no doubt that but Ram

Ram Singh's statement,
Appendix No. 1.

Singh knew perfectly well of the intentions of his followers to put a stop to cow-killing, and he must have known that such action was a defiance of the British Government.

It is important to read carefully the memorandum drawn up by Mr. J.W. Macnabb, dated 4th November 1871. He specially alludes to the prophecies regarding the re-establishment of the Sikh rule. I would also call attention to the statement made by Ganga Pershad, formerly Extra Assistant Commissioner.

Appendix No. V

Evidence is required of an organised plan of rising.

For this we have the information given by Extra Assistant Commissioner, Narain Singh, from time to time. This may, in some instances, have been given in the form of written reports to the Inspector General, but to me they were given verbally.

The reports furnished by the Patiala Vakil of 23 Kukas in Sekrooudee selling their lands and throwing away their property, expressing their intention of joining the Guru.

Statement of Patiala Vakil No. XIII, Appendix II. Deputy Commissioner's letter dated 19th January 1872.

The Jheend Vakil gives the statement of one man Dewa Singh, who was observed to sell his land and throw away his property, who on being interrogated, said that he was to join his Guru, and in (Cheyt) next April there was to be a disturbance.

Petition of Jheend Vakil and statement of Dewa Singh, Appendix II.

Other instances of men leaving their village to join their Guru, selling their lands, are mentioned by Patiala Vakil and by Mr. Cowan.

No. of Appendix XXXIX

The evidence of the lumberdars and others in Bhainee shows that no disguise was made in the assemblies of the Kukas as to the real ambitious schemes of their sect.

Evidence of lumberdars of Bhainee. Colonel Baillie's report, paragraph 10.

There is an important passage in Gyani Singh's statement thereon, his trial for the Raikot murders. He said "the Mustanahs among the Kukas all believe that they are soon to rule over the country." He then adds—"Bishen Singh, Soobah, is making converts in Cabal ; Narain Singh, at Gwalior ; Kan Singh, in Banares ; Nahung Singh and Saheb Singh are told off for Nepal. Heema Singh is Soobah in Kashmir. There are numbers of Kukas in the Native armies. There are thousands in the English army. Johawir Singh, Soobah, has given orders that the number of Kukas in the army is not to be made known. Letters and messages frequently come to Ram Singh from the rulers of Nepal and Jummoo."

That there was some idea of a rising in Cheyt (April) is clear. But apparently matters were precipitated, and from the following evidence we learn that a plan was formed at Bhainee, during the Maghee fair,—11th 12th, and 13th January,—for a party of Mustanahs to at once avenge Gyani Singh's death by murdering the butchers at Malehr Kotla, and seizing arms there. Now for what purpose would arms be wanted? For midnight murders they had sufficiently deadly weapons in the well sharpened steel axes, and gundassas carried by them.

The attack on Kotla was not the ulterior object ; it was confessedly only the first step so as to supply them with arms and horses. It is scarcely necessary to ask what the intentions of men are who make murderous assaults on a place for the purpose of obtaining arms. Those arms, when obtained, must be intended for some more serious undertaking.

It is clearly shown that the attack on Malodh was quite unpremeditated, and was a sudden thought merely to get arms. The following is a summary of evidence on this point.

Bhugwan Singh says—"I went to Bhainee five days before Maghee. The Kukas who were seated near me talked of going to loot Kotla. Lehna Singh and Heera Singh, of Sekrooudee (Patiala), were among them. There were about 50 or 60 men who planned to attack Kotla. I don't know who

Bhagwan Singh's statement.

originated the idea, but I heard every one saying that they would get horses and arms at Kotla.

Note. Horses are not required for the prevention of cow-killing. T.D.F.

I knew that we were going to Kotla to seize arms and horses. I do not know what it was intended to do after we got the horses and arms. I heard at the well, where we were all collected at Bhainee, that Lukha Singh had promised to come."

Gyan Singh says—"I went to Bhainee on the 11th. About 10 or 12 Kukas worked themselves into a frenzy. A number joined them till they were about 100. They were

Gyan Singh's statement.

shouting out that they would have revenge for Gyani, who was hanged. They asked me to come to Kotla with them, that they would there get arms and horses. They said they would first loot Kotla, then Sangoor, then Nabha, then Patiala. Lukha Singh and Hurnam Singh, Soobahs, came and sat down with the Mustanahs. I heard Heera Singh say to them that they were going to take revenge for Gyani Singh's death, and would first go to Kotla for horses and arms. The Soobahs said "we will follow, you go on to Kotla". He further states that Lehna Singh addressed them at Bhainee, saying that he had been at Nabha, Patiala, and Delhi; that all the English army was at Delhi, that the Maharaja was there, and that the country was *soot*, now was the time to rise".

Thumun Singh says—"I joined Gyan Singh and about 100 Kukas, They said they were going to Kotla to get horses and arms I did not know for what purpose they wanted arms and horses. My uncle, Gyan Singh, did not tell me."

Thumun Singh's Statement.

Mehr Singh says—"Lehna Singh told us we should be joined by all true Sikhs when we had arms in our possession. He said he would tell us his plan in full after he had taken Kotla."

Mehr Singh's Statement

Albel (executed) said—"Heera Singh told us to come with him to Malodh, and he would give us arms to kill the slayers of cattle".

Albel Singh's Statement.

Bhaggut Singh (executed) said—"I went to Bhainee to the Maghee Mela ; I saw Heera Singh and Lehna Singh there. These two preached against cow-killing, and said they were going to Kotla to kill the killers of kine. Ram Singh came and told us not to make a disturbance there, but take our food and go."

Bhaggut Singh's Statement.

Evidence of men flocking towards Kotla—Statement of Poorun Nath, taken by Deputy Commissioner at Malodh on 19th January, shows that a body of men passed towards Kotla after the attack had been made there, and declared their intention of dying where God should order.

Further evidence to a similar effect is given by 12 other witnesses, amongst whom particular attention may be drawn to Wazeer Singh No. 112.

There can be no doubt, from the mass evidence now collected, that there was at Bhainee an openly expressed determination to make a hostile demonstration, which was to be commenced by Lehna Singh and Heera Singh and their party, and which Lukha Singh not only approved but agreed to join, as deposed to by Bhugwan Singh, Gyany Singh, Sookhoo, Gunda Singh and reported by Colonel Baillie. I beg attention to Mr. Cowan's letter dated 31st January (No. XXXIX).

Further corroboration evidence could easily be obtained doubtless if necessary but the quantity now submitted will probably be sufficient to show the real character of the outbreak, which received its check at Kotla.

DOCUMENT No. 32*Telegram**Fort William, 2 Feb. 1872**From*

Government of India

To

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, London.

My Lord Duke,

In continuation of our despatch No. 9, dated the 2nd instant we transmit for Your Grace's information copies of further letters and telegrams received from the Punjab Government, reporting proceedings connected with recent outrages committed by Kookas at Malodh and Malair Kotla.

DOCUMENT No. 33*No. 9th dated the 2nd Feb., 1872**From*

The Government of India.

To

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

In continuation our despatch No. 7, dated 19th January, we transmit for Your Grace's information a copy of further papers as noted in the annexed list, regarding the recent outrages committed by bodies of Kookas in Malodh and Malair Kotla in the Ludhiana District of the Punjab.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Punjab Government (letter from Punjab Government No. 9C dated 16th Jan.

*Letter from the Punjab No. 9C, dated 16th Jan. 1872.

*See enclosure of letter from Punjab No. 23G dated 19th Jan. 1872.

1872) and under the circumstances as fully explained by Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of the Ambala Division and we have issued warrants under Regulation III of 1818 for the

Allahabad Jail of the Kooka Guru Ram Singh and ten of his most influential Subhas.

While fully acknowledging the promptitude and vigour with which the local officers acted on the first intelligence of the disturbances, we regret to have been obliged to question the propriety of the ulterior proceedings of Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana. We have, you will perceive, ordered his suspension pending full enquiry into his conduct, in summarily executing the Kooka insurgents captured in the Patiala Territory.

DOCUMENT No. 34

No. 170 dated the 2nd February 1872

From

E.C. BAYLEY Esq., C.S.I.
Secretary to the Govt. of India.

To

The Offg. Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces.

With reference to the accompanying copy of a letter* from the Magistrate of Allahabad, I am

*No. 68, dated 26th ultimo, and enclosure.

directed to request that you will be good enough to report, without delay, whether, in the opinion of the

Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor, there are any valid objections.

to undertaking the responsibility of detaining the Kooka leader Ram Singh and his followers in custody at Allahabad.

DOCUMENT No. 35

Telegram dated the 7th February 1872

From

The Government of India.

To

The Secretary of State for India.

About one hundred and twenty-five Kukas attacked Malehr Kotla, fifteenth January, were repulsed, eight killed, nine captured ; of the rest sixty-eight surrendered next day, twenty-seven wounded, to an officer and three troopers of Patiala, were made over to Deputy Commissioner of Ludiana at Malehr Kotla, of which State he was incharge, pending disputed succession, and where about seven hundred and fifty Patiala, Jhind and Nabha troops with nine guns had joined him. Deputy Commissioner on seventeenth, without formal trial or needful sanction of Commissioner, illegally below away forty-nine from guns. Commissioner arriving next day tried legally and hanged sixteen others. Government of India wholly disapproved these whole-sale executions which seem quite unjustifiable, and has suspended Deputy Commissioner pending further enquiry. Every thing now quiet.

DOCUMENT No. 36

(Kooka outbreak in the Punjab)

No. 59 C, dated Camp Karnal, the 7th Feb. 1872 .

From

L.H. Griffin Esq.

Offg. Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

To

E.C. Bayley, Esq. C.S.I.

Secretary to the Government of India.

I am directed to forward, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, a letter No. 389, dated 1st Feb. 1872, from the Commr. of Ambala Division with enclosures, being the evidence collected regarding the Design of the Kooka sect and its leader Ram Singh of Bhainee.

2. The Lieut. Governor would desire to direct particular attention to the memoranda recorded by Mr. J.W. Macnab, the Offg. Commr. of the Ambala Division, and Col. G.Mc. Andrew, Deputy Inspector General of Police of the Ambala Circle. These were written previous to recent outbreak with special reference to the murders committed by Kookas at Raikote and Amritsar.

3. The evidence in these cases was carefully considered by the Lieut. Governor, who did not think it advisable to authorise a criminal prosecution against Ram Singh for complicity in the murders although it appeared certain that the disciples of Ram Singh would never have committed these murders with the object of stopping the slaughter of kine without the knowledge and approval of their spiritual head ; and although in the trials at Amritsar and Raikote direct

evidence was given by Dal Singh, Gulab Singh, Kahan Singh and Ganda Singh, implicating Ram Singh in the offence of abetting the murders by instigation, the Lieut. Governor was of opinion that the case against him was not sufficiently clear as so make his conviction in a criminal court certain, and the failure of a prosecution ordered by the Government would have been regarded as a triumph by the initiated sect the witness, upon whose evidence the prosecution would have been compelled to rely, were even mostly of the Kooka sect, who could not be trusted to adhere to statements once made when called upon to repeat them in a case affecting the life or liberty of their Guru.

4. Nor did the Lt. Governor consider it, at that time, expedient to apply to the Government of India for warrants under regulation III of 1818 against Ram Singh and his principal subahs. He was of the opinion, that if sufficient judicial proof to warrant the prosecution of the Kooka leader in the ordinary courts were wanting, the case, as it stood, was not sufficiently strong to justify resort to the exceptional procedure for the practical emergencies, whilst there was still greater difficulty in directing a prosecution with the intention of issuing warrant in the events of its being unsuccessful.

5. The attacks on Malodh and Malerkotla, following so immediately one after the other, decided His Honour the Lieut. Governor to deport Ram Singh and his most prominent Subahs from the Punjab; and the information which has since been received and forwarded to the Government of India together with the evidence forming the enclosures to this letter taken in connection with the proceedings at Amritsar and Raikot, and the evidence recorded for several years past of the tendency of the Kooka teaching and the character of its teachers, confirm the Lt. Governor in the conviction that the deportation was necessary. His Honour is also of opinion that Ram Singh and his Subahs should be confined at a distance from the scene of their intrigues at such a place and in such a manner as to render their rescue or escape, or return to the Punjab, impossible.

6. But without desiring to disguise the precipitancy, the undisciplined presumption, or the unmeasured severity of Mr. Cowan's conduct, the Lieut. Governor cannot lose sight of the countervailing consideration. He did no injustice. The crimes punished were deliberately planned and committed, were brought with the utmost alarm to society from the secrecy of their conception, and the suddenness and desperation of their execution. It is true that the purpose was not accomplished, but there was not one of the criminals whose life was not strictly forfeited to public justice. So much may be said even if those outrages are looked upon simply as municipal offences, but it is impossible so to regard them ; there is not only much evidence, but also a universal agreement amongst persons qualified to judge, showing that originating in a carefully stimulated religious fanaticism, they had a political object, every step in the attainment of which threatened the most serious disturbance of the existing order of things. Hence not only was every one of the criminal's, life forfeited to public justice, but it was essential to the maintenance of public authority that a striking example should be made. Mr. Cowan had for some time past, officiated as Deputy Commissioner of the Ludhiana District, in which are the headquarters of the Kuka Sect. He had the best opportunities of judging of the nature of their organisation and tendency of their designs. As a Magistrate, he had brought to conviction some of its members, and his life has been threatened in revenge on hearing of the outrages under notice, he acted with promptitude in immediately proceeding to Malodh, and with fore-thought in summoning the troops of the protected States, and his informal and unauthorised sentences were, the day after their execution, supported by the deliberate pronunciation of similar sentences by the authority to whom Mr. Cowan ought previously to have referred on sixteen similar offenders.

DOCUMENT No. 37*From*

E. C. BAYLEY, Esq. C.S.I.,

Secretary to the Govt. of India.

To

The Secretary to the Govt. of the Punjab.

*Home Department***JUDICIAL**

Fort William, the 8th February, 1872.

Sir,

I am to acknowledge your telegram of 29th ultimo, and your letters noted on the margin, all having relations to the Kooka outbreak. The Governor General in Council has considered these papers with anxious attention and he wishes before passing final orders on the subject, to direct your attention to the points which appear specially to require explanation.

No. 29C, dated 22nd Jan, 1872	
„ 35C, „ 24th „ „	
„ 36C, „ 26th „ „	
„ 38C, „ 27th „ „	
„ 44C, „ 30th „ „	

2. His Excellency agrees with His Honour's opinion expressed in his letter of 26th January, as to Mr. Cowan's promptitude and energy, and that some allowance must be made for the difficult position in which he was placed, but he feels that nothing short of immediate urgent necessity could justify such a measure as the summary execution of 49 persons, and that in an exceptional and highly objectionable manner.

3. The papers at present before His Excellency do not appear to him to show the existence of any such immediate urgent necessity. The following are Mr. Cowan's own statements

on the subject. In his letter to Mr. Forsyth of the 16th January he says—

The gang of rebels and for no other name will adequately characterize them.....never numbered more than 125. Of these, there were at Malodh 2 killed, 4 captured ; at Kotla 7 killed, 31 wounded. Of those wounded 25 or 26 escaped at the time but 68 including 27 wounded have been captured in the Patiala State at Rur—a village 12 miles from this.

The entire gang has thus been nearly destroyed. I purpose blowing away from guns or hanging the prisoners to-morrow morning at day break.

Their offence is not an ordinary one. They have not committed mere murder and dacoity ; they are open rebels offering contumacious resistance to constituted authority, and to prevent the spreading of these disease, it is absolutely necessary that repressive measures should be prompt and stern. I am sensible of the great responsibility I incur ; but I am satisfied that I act for the best and that this incipient insurrection must be stamped out at once.

4. In his letter (No. 15) of 17th January also to Mr. Forsyth, he relates the circumstances of the arrest of the prisoners. He says that 68 of them, of whom 29 were wounded (7 very severely) surrendered to the Naib Nazim of Sherpur and three Native Cavalry and that the party

To use his own words “the ruffians were completely cowed”. which originally consisted of not more than 125 men had before that time lost nine persons killed and 9 prisoners. He adds “at least two-

thirds of the whole gang have been killed, wounded or captured. The remainder are being hunted like Vermin, and many more of them will be taken”.

(2)

5. In the same letter he remarks that in less than an hour after receipt of his letters, the Rajas of Nabha and Jhind “despatched artillery, cavalry and infantry to Kotla”. He

also makes the following remarks, "It is certain that had their first attempt been crowned with success, had they succeeded in arming themselves and providing themselves with horses and treasure, they would have been joined by all the abandoned characters in the country, and their extinction must not have been effected without much trouble. By the timely preparations at Kotla the first efforts were defeated, and by the active exertions of the Patiala officials their miserable attempt at rebellion has been stamped out." He adds, however, "but others of their stamp must be deterred from following so bad an example and that the warning should be effectual, it must be prompt and terrible".

6 In his letter of January, 21st, he says "As the contingents from adjoining Native States had arrived or were close at hand, I felt confident that in the presence of such a force, and with the arrangements I hurriedly made, there was no fear of an immediate attack on Kotla, or any place in its neighbourhood ; but that a terrible example was needed to put a stop at once to what was assuming the proportions of a rebellion."

7. These statements show that no immediate danger was to be apprehended ; that if the crime was an attempt at insurrection it had failed ; that the insurgents were completely cowed, "and were nearly all made prisoners, many of them being wounded as well ; that danger which might have arisen, if the fort had been taken, had been averted ; and that ample military force for the maintenance of order was at Mr. Cowan's disposal.

8. Mr. Forsyth's letter of the 19th and its enclosures, no doubt, show that several small bodies of kookas were observed on the 18th January (the day after the execution) in the neighbourhood of Kotla ; but conduct of these persons on the 18th could not have had anything to do with Mr. Cowan's act from the first.

9. The impression which the papers leave on His Excellency not under the presence of immediate urgent neces-

sity but because he thought it might possibly have the effect of preventing an insurrection of a more general kind.

10. In His Excellency's opinion a general apprehension of this sort is not enough to justify what was done. Nothing could justify it except the presence of immediate urgent necessity and of this His Excellency has no evidence whatever in the papers before him.

11. The apprehension that a general insurrection was imminent and could be averted by the means taken, and not otherwise, might have the effect of excusing Mr. Cowan to a greater or less extent if it rested upon reasonable grounds, but the papers disclose only slight, if any, grounds for such an apprehension. Upon this subject what Mr. Cowan has to show is some ground for thinking that when "this miserable attempt at rebellion," as he calls it, had been stamped out, a summary execution would, and that punishment in the common course of law would not, deter other persons from rebelling.

12. His Excellency further wishes to be more fully informed as to the grounds of Mr. Cowan's "belief that a serious outbreak was intended" (see paragraph 4 of his letter of 21st January to Mr. Forsyth), and he requests an expression of His Honour's opinion on the question whether there are any substantial grounds to apprehend a rebellion on the part of the kookas, and whether he considers it necessary to the maintenance of peace that any special measures for the prevention of such rebellion should be taken.

(3)

13. With regard to Mr. Forsyth's proceedings, they would appear to have been legal ; but His Excellency in Council fails to perceive the necessity for such extreme and indiscriminate severity as Mr. Forsyth displayed.

14. His Excellency in Council awaits the explanations of the officers concerned upon these points, together with an expression of His Honour's view upon the whole matter, and will reserve final orders on the subject till they have been

received and fully considered. Meanwhile as you have been already informed by telegraph, His Excellency in Council thinks it necessary to maintain the instructions in paragraph 3 of my letter No. 122, dated 24th ultimo, that Mr. Cowan be suspended from office.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your most obedient servant
Sd/- E.C. BAYLEY
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

DOCUMENT No. 38

(Confidential)

No. 63, dated Camp, Radour the 9th February, 1872.

From

L.H. Griffin, Esq.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

To

E.C. Bayley, Esq.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

I am desired to forward, for information, the accompanying copy of a memorandum submitted by the Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana, to the Commissioner of the Ambala Division.

DOCUMENT No. 39

Memorandum, dated the 6th February 1872.

To

The Commissioner,
Ambala Division.

Yesterday the Sikh Sirdar, Ootum Singh, of Ramgurh, in this District, called on me. After some conversation he dismissed his attendants and asked me if any troops were to be retained at Ludhiana. I told him, I did not know, but that probably some sowars and one or two companies of infantry would be left at Ludhiana.

The Sirdar then said to me—"There should be artillery, cavalry, and infantry at Ludhiana. This will be the most important District in the Punjab for some time to come ; you must have troops here, and the troops must not be Sikhs." I caught at his remark, and told him that the Sikhs were the most faithful soldiers in the army ; and when I questioned him further, he would only say that the Kookas of the villages in his neighbourhood were abusing Heera Singh and Lehna Singh (the leaders of the gang which attacked Malodh and Kotlah) for having begun too soon.

From other quarters rumours to the same effect have reached me, and I am endeavouring to find further reliable evidence that matters were precipitated by the rashness of Lehna Singh's gang.

Sirdar Ootum Singh is a relative of Sirdar Badan Singh, who was wounded in the Malodh attack. He has been in rather an excited state since the attacks, and may be an alarmist ; nevertheless, a remark of the kind I have quoted above, coming from a Sikh Sirdar, and a relative of the Maharaja of Patiala, is deserving of attention.

Information has reached me today that on Sunday (4th instant) a man from Bhainee went to Raipur (a village containing a large number of Kukas), and gave out that Ram

Singh had been released. On this there was rejoicing among the Kukas and open exclamations that, when Ram Singh arrived, the Kuka rule would commence. I am making enquiries into this.

L. COWAN,
Offg. Deputy Commissioner,
Ludhiana.

DOCUMENT No. 39 (A)

(Confidential)

No. 65C dated Camp, Jagadhri, the 10th Feb. 1872

From

L.H. Griffin Esq.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab.

To

E.C. Bayley Esq.,
Offg. to the Govt. of India.

In continuation of my letter No. 59C of the 7th instant, I am desired to forward, for information translation of a communication from the Nazim of Kotla to the Commissioner of the Ambala Division, reporting on the gathering of the Kookas towards Kotla on the day of the late attack.

From other quarters rumours to the same effect have reached me, and I am endeavouring to find further reliable evidence that matters were precipitated by the rashness of Lehna Singh's gang.

Sirdar Uttam Singh is a relative of Sardar Badan Singh, a who was wounded in the Malodh attack. He has been in rather an excited state since the attacks, and may be an alarmist ; nevertheless, a remark of the kind I have quoted above, coming from Sikh Sardar, and a relative of the Maharaja of Patiala, is deserving of attention.

2. Information has reached me today that on Sunday (4th instant) a man from Bhainee went to Raipur (a village containing a large number of Kookas), and gave out that Ram Singh had been released. On this there was rejoicing among the Kookas, and open exclamations that, when Ram Singh arrived, the Kooka rule would commence. I am making enquiries into it.

Translation of a petition from the Nazim of the Kotla State.....dated 6th Feb. 1872

I obedience to your Furwana dated 29th Jan. 1872 to the effect that enquiries be made as to who saw Kookas' going to and from Kotla on the day of the attack, the Lambardar of the villages were summoned. Pala, Lambardar of Surroudh; Boodhoo Lambardar of Khoord; Gandee Lambardar of Kothala (not on map about 4 miles from Kotla); and Rupa, Lambardar of Bhogewal, stated that on the day of the attack they severally left their village for Kotla.

On the road gangs of Kookas, varying from 10 to 15, were seen at several places going towards Kotla. When the circumstances of the expulsion and the death of the Kookas were mentioned to them, they (Kookas) stopped and returned and were never seen again coming towards Kotla, Mukkum of Kotla, states, that the information of the assembly of the Kookas at Hathaya being received.

This was reported to me at Kotla. Patiala Vakil was desired to as certain the exact truth of this. His report has not been received.

T.D.F.

Proceeded to the spot. Lambardars expressed their ignorance. Two persons, whom he does not know, were coming out of the village. He asked them about the Kookas;

they said 200 Kookas had gone towards Nabha through Nareekie and Saykha villages (Patiala territory) by the jungle road.

The inhabitants of other villages make statements to the effect that they had heard that Kookas were to re-attack

Kotla, and it was spread about that another attack on Kotla was certain. Kookas were assembled at Rubbon etc.

The following sketch shows the position of villages with reference to Kotla.

		*Malodh
	*Bhogewal	
*Khoord		*Surroudh
	*Kotlah	*Hathaya
*Rurr		
		*Saykash
		*Nareekee

DOCUMENT No. 40

Dated Patiala, the 12th Feb. 1872.

From

His Highness, The Maharaja of Patiala.

To

L.H. Griffin Esq.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

In reply to a telegram from you, I promised in my letter dated 20th ultimo to make enquiries as requested by His Honour the Lt. Governor, and communicate to you, if possible the real cause of the Kooka outbreak.

2. I therefore write for His Honour's information that from many proofs it is certain that Ram Singh's real motive

and ambition was bent upon religious pretext to regain and acquire dominations, and he deceitfully implanted his capacious notion in the minds of his ignorant and superstitious followers that there was to predominate, and that every where the Govt. of the country will be very soon in their own hands ; and that they had the fullest belief of this absurdity, he never failed to excite their mind and keep them in agitation and earnest desire to attain that object ; and as the numbers of his disciples (full of bigotry and blind zeal of their faith, cared little or nothing of their lives and property in securing the pleasure and satisfaction of their Satguru in furtherance of his motives) had now increased to enormity and vastness, he therefore had a sanguine hope of success and excited them to view with utmost hatred and horror the act of cow-killing.

3. In exciting this prejudice his motive was (as under the religious pretext, the "cartridge" prejudice subverted and put into connection the whole of India in 1857) that by means of this ignitable match he may stir up and excite the feelings of the Hindu community (including the nobility, gentry and the troops) to sympathise and stand up in support of this common cause of hatred against the rulers of the country, anticipating a result from this confusion that in every class and grade of the community he would be held with respect and awe, and thus establish a powerful sway over them, of which he was long in earnest. Had not this appalling punishment been inflicted so promptly upon the insurgents as had been the case, and had not Ram Singh been instantly deported with his Subas from his home, there was no hope of the disturbance being quelled so soon, and no doubt there would have been an endless waste of money and life before full tranquility and confidence would have been restored.

4. Had the Kookas had even a meagre success in their attacks at Malodh and Kotla the whole sect would have sprung like fiends from all sides who were eagerly watching the result of these pantomimic attack.

5. The above is brief result of my enquiries in the matter, which have been recorded after a careful observation.

6. There is one thing more which I think should be brought to your notice. I have learnt from newspapers etc. that the Govt. has expressed its disapprobation at the manner of the punishment awarded to the insurgents by the local authorities. I believe the object of the Govt. will be misunderstood, and more particularly by the native public and particularly by the knighted sect, who shall no doubt attribute it to some supernatural power of their Satguru. This would, in a great measure, tend to frustrate and invalidate the active and efficient measures adopted by the British authorities and the Native Chiefs in the coercion and eradication of the evil which had been so promptly and adequately nipped in the bud before bringing fourth any blossoms of further evil, or rather tend to render them less efficacious and to make them look light and unimportant. I am of opinion that misconception of the intention of Government by the Public is always fraught with unpleasant consequences and I deem it right to inform you of the views I take on the subject.

Trusting that His Honour and yourself are in the perfect enjoyment of health.

I am
My dear friend
Yours Very Sincerely
Sd/- Mohindra Singh
(Maharaja of Patiala)

DOCUMENT No. 40 A

No. 78C, dated Camp Mogul Sarai, the 16th February 1872.

From

L.H. Griffin Esq.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt., of the Punjab.

To

E.C. Bayley Esq., C.S.I.
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

I am desired to forward copy of a letter from His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in reply to a telegram from me, dated the 17th January.

2. The Lt. Governor wishes me to direct particular attention to the third paragraph of this letter, the whole of which is deserving of careful consideration from the fact of the writer being the most important Chief in the Punjab proper, and the acknowledged head of the Sikhs. In the views expressed in the paragraph in question, His Honour is disposed to concur.

DOCUMENT No. 41

(Confidential)

No. 68C, dated Camp Dadhopur, the 12th February 1872.

From

L.H. Griffin, Esq.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

To

E.C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

In continuation of letter No. 63C, dated 9th Feb., I am desired to forward copy of a further communication from the

officiating Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana regarding Ram Singh and the Kukas. The Commissioner has been asked to have Bela Singh's statement recorded and forwarded for information.

Memorandum

Dated the 7th Feb 1872.

By L. Cowan, Esq.,

Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana.

Sirdar Ootum Singh of Ramgurh called on me a few days ago on his way to Delhi.

He told me in conversation that it was currently reported that Ram Singh, on leaving Malodh, had gone to Syar, and there had abused Lehna Singh and Heera Singh for beginning the disturbance before all arrangements have been completed.

I summoned the Lambardars of Syar, and yesterday recorded their statements, which I herewith forward to the Commissioner and Superintendent. The evidence is important.

Statement of Gopal Singh, Lambardar of Syal, Ludhiana District, on solemn affirmation; this 6th February 1872.

My village is five or six miles from Malodh. The day after the attack on Malodh, (*i.e.* 15th Jan.) in the evening, Guru Ram Singh came from Malodh, where he had gone to see you, and stayed all night in my village in the house of Bela Singh, Kuka. He was accompanied by five Kukas on horse back, and about 30 Kookas on foot, all armed with axes or Gandassas. During the night a great many more Kukas assembled in Syar, till there were 15 horsemen and about 125 footmen, most of them carrying axes or choppers.

There are 25 Kukas in Syar. In the evening I and other Lambardars went to Ram Singh in Bela Singh's house. We salammmed and sat down near him. There was a great crowd, all the village had gone to see him. Ram Singh was down-cast and looked sad ; he spoke very little at first. Some Kukas

who came called out "what are we to do, what is the order? Tell us, Oh Guru, what has happened?"

Then Ram Singh said, "Lehna Singh and Heera Singh are fools. They disobeyed my order. I ordered them to wait till the month of Cheit, but they were head-strong and would not obey me. They have spoiled my arrangements." He added—"If they had waited for two months as I ordered them, all would have gone well."

Three months before the attack on Malodh, Ram Singh came to Syar and addressed a crowd of Kukas. He said then,—“The shrines of peers must be destroyed. There is a great shrine—Sukkee Surwar which I will destroy in Chiet next; I will send men to destroy it. I will make them invisible to their enemies, but their enemies will be visible to them.”

Three days ago at night, the sky which had been clouded all day, suddenly become clear, and there were luminous appearances in it. The Kookas of my village turned out shouting, that it was a sign from Ram Singh that they were not to lose hope.

This morning before I left the village, I saw some Kukas rejoicing, and, on asking them the reason, they said they had heard Ram Singh had disappeared out of the Railway carriage which was taking him to Prag, and would be soon back. They said, "we will see what will happen before Cheit is over."

Taken before me.

L. Cowan

Offg. Deputy Commissioner,
Ludhiana.

—

Statement of Sunt Ram, Lumbardar of Syar, taken on solemn affirmation, this 6th February 1872.

Went with the other Lumbardars to see Ram Singh when he returned from Malodh. Heard him abuse Lehna Singh and Heera Singh for beginning before Cheit.

(Deponent then says the same as Gopal Singh Lumbardar.)

Taken before me.

L. Cowan

Offg. Deputy Commissioner,
Ludhiana.

Statement of Dyal Singh, Lumbardar of Syar, taken on solemn affirmation, this 6th February 1872.

This witness says the same as the other two Lumbardars of his village, Gopal Singh and Sunt Singh.

L. Cowan

Offg. Deputy Commissioner,
Ludhiana.

In continuation of my letter No. 68C of this date, I desired to forward copy of a statement of a resident of Raipur, regarding Ram Singh and Kukas, made before the Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana.

Statement of Saida Singh, Khewatdar of Raipur, Ludhiana District, on solemn affirmation, dated the 9th February 1872.

On Saturday last, I returned to my village from Ludhiana, where I had been on business, Darbara Singh, Kuka, a Lumbaradar of Raipur came to my house on Sunday, and said to me. "A chamar has come from Bhainee, who says that Ram Singh has been released, and has returned to Bhainee. You have just come from Ludhiana, what have you heard." I told him I have not heard anything about the Guru. Darbara Singh then said, "It is true that Ram Singh is the 11th Avatar. He has returned or he will return in a few days. You will see what will happen in Cheit next. If you are not a Kooka, it will go badly with you." I have often before been told that, if I did not be come a Kooka before Cheit 1928, I should be killed.

Taken before me.

L. Cowan
Offg. Deputy Commissioner,
Ludhiana.

DOCUMENT No. 42

No. 72C, dated Camp Dadhopur, the 12th February 1872.

From

L.H. Griffin, Esq.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

To

E.C. Bayley Esq. C.S.I.
Secy. to Govt. of India.

With reference to the order for the suspension from office of Mr. Cowan officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana, conveyed in paragraph 3 of your letter No. 122, dated 24th Jan., I am desired to forward, for submission to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, copy of a letter from Mr. Cowan, dated 9th Feb. 1872.

DOCUMENT No. 42 (A)*Dated Ludhiana, the 9th February 1872.**From*

L. Cowan, Esq.
Offg. Deputy Commissioner,
Ludhiana.

To

T.D. Forsyth, Esq.,
C.B., Commissioner and Superintendent,
Ambala Division.

I have the honcur to acknowledge the receipt of your memorandum dated 7th instant, forwarding extract from a letter of the Secretary to Government, Punjab, to your address, dated the 5th idem, directing my suspension from office until further orders. I only await the arrival of Major Parsons to make over charge of the district to him.

2. This degradation was most unexpected by me. I had hoped that my proceedings, irregular though they were, would under the grave circumstances of the case, have met with the approval of Govt. I entertain the hope that the order for my suspension was written before the evidence so strongly confirmatory of the belief entertained by me at the beginning reached the Govt. of India.

(3) I have reported before that I did not carry out the executions at Kotla recklessly or thoughtlessly. I knew how great was the responsibility I was incurring, I knew that grave disapproval of my conduct by Govt. would in all probability be followed by dismissal from the service of Govt., and to me, and to those dependent on me, dismissal means ruin and

beggary. But I incurred this great risk in the belief that the preservation of the peace of the country required the severe measures of repression adopted by me, and that no more lenient measures would have had the same effect.

(4) If I have unfortunately failed to convince the Government that such severe measures were necessary, I will beg that 23 years of faithful service, during which time I have repeatedly received the thanks of Govt. may be weighed against this irregular proceeding. I have never been accused of cruelty. I have never in my recollection raised a hand to strike a Native.

(5) I shall feel obliged by your forwarding this letter to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, with the request that it may be transmitted, should His Honor the Lt. Governor think fit, to the Government of India.

Dated Ambala, the 10 February 1872.

Endorsed by the Commissioner and Superintendent of Ambala Division.

Forwarded to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

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DOCUMENT No 43

Memo No. 26

Dated Lahore, 13th February 1872.

To

All Deputy Inspectors General of Police.

Requests they will endeavor to ascertain the feelings, generally, amongst orthodox Sikhs with reference to the Kuka movements, note also the conduct of Sikhs in the police and if they have the opportunity, in Sikh regiments also on these points.

Sentiments of the orthodox Sikhs regarding Kuka-ism

Reports to be sent to Ins-
pectors General.

2. Reports should be sent direct to Inspector General, confidentially, as any information is obtained.

DOCUMENT No. 43 A

Memo. No. 26

Dated Lahore, the 13th February 1872.

To

All Deputy Inspectors General of Police.

As the late deplorable event (the assassination of Lord Mayo) will doubtless raise the misguided conceptions of those most fanatical amongst the Kukas, the Inspector General requests that the utmost vigilance be enjoined on all District Superintendents to take every measure in their power to prevent similar attempts being made on any Government official.

2. The orders already issued on this subject must be most carefully attended to, by patrolling the stations at all hours of the day and night; having men in plain clothes watching all loiterers about our courts; all Dharamsalas of the Kukas or other meeting places—are amongst the most important precautions.

3. District Superintendents will be held strictly and personally responsible for seeing that all orders on this subject are absolutely and fully carried out, and that all possible preventive measures are adopted, yet without causing excitement and alarm.

District Supdt. of Police responsible for adopting secret measures of precaution.

DOCUMENT No. 43 B

Memo. No. 29

Dated Lahore, the 15th February 1872.

To

The District Superintendents of Police—

Ambala, Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Gujranwala and Sialkot.

Requests, he well be prepared in form annexe, and submit quickly direct to the Inspector General of Police, a return of all Kukas of note who are resident of his districts.

A return of man of note required.

2. Men who are residents of other districts and are merely on a visit, are not to be entered; while the permanent residents who may be away elsewhere should be shown as absent (in column 5) and, if possible, where they have gone to.

How absentees are to be shown.

3. The Inspector General concludes that the most noted and influential of the Kukas, of whom alone the return is required, are well known to the District Superintendent.

The most noted men must be known to District Superintendent of Police.

4. The replies to this are to be sent direct to Inspector General, who will be with the Camp of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

Replies to be sent direct to Inspector General.

Police Department

.....District

Return showing the most influential and noted men of the Kuka sect who are residents of this district.

(Called for by Inspector General's confidential memo. No. 29 of 1872.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
S. No.	Name	Parcentage	Profession or Calling	Residence		Present or absent	Remarks
				Village	Thana	If absent where	

Dated

The 187 District Superintendent of Police

DODUMENT NO. 43 C

Circular memo. No. 30

Dated Lahore, the 15th February 1872.

To

All Deputy Inspector General of Police.

The Inspector General of Police requests that the following arrangements be at once made and reported, when completed, in the district named below for obtaining information regarding the Kuka sect.

Kuka doings to be secretly watched and reported.

2. District Superintendents are to have specially selected and reliable policemen, in plain clothes, moving about in and near villages known to contain Kukas. Where Kukas are in considerable numbers, or where leading members of the sect reside, these all movements and assemblies should be specially watched.

Scouts to watch and report.

3. The scouts must be changed occasionally, other men should be sent, and in new directions ;
Scouts to be changed. the object being to ascertain from more than one set of men the real state of affairs. The greatest care must be taken that scouts do not go out with pre-conceived ideas of the kind of information required, or assuredly they will manufacture it and bring back anything but what is wanted.

4. It is very necessary also that the strictest supervision over these men be exercised, so that
A close watch to be kept over scouts. they may not abuse their positions and levy money or contributions by threatening to denounce persons as Kukas.

They should understand thoroughly that we do not want so much to know who are Kukas as what are Kukas doing.

5. Valuable information quickly rendered should ensure prompt reward.
Reward. sure prompt reward.

6. The reports of scouts must contain information on the following points.
Subject for reports. following points.

- I. Name and grade of the scout.
- II. All villages mentioned by scout to be shown as so many miles distant, in some particular directions of the compass, from some well-known place.
- III. Of all parties mentioned, as full particulars to be given of their parcentage, residence (*i.e.* village, thana and district), occupation, habits, etc as is possible.

7. From all important centres of Kuka organisation reports should be either brought or sent in —daily as a matter of course, and specially and promptly, in the event of anything important occurring.

8. Probably 3 or 4 carefully selected will be all that need be employed in one district. District Superintendent should at the same time arrange to receive information, quite independently of these scouts, from Lambardars, pensioners and other persons whose interests are of necessity identical with those of the Government, or who are known well wishers of the state.

9. The reports of scouts must, to save time, be translated and forwarded to the Inspector General by District Superintendent direct, a copy being at the same time sent to the Deputy Commissioner, who will countersign and send them all to the Deputy Inspector General with such remarks as he may consider necessary, and in accordance with the procedure prescribed by His Honor the Lieutenant Governor for the weekly Diaries numbers II and III (General Cr. No. 3 of 1872).

Deputy Inspector General will, as here-to-fore, forward them on with such explanatory remarks and suggestions as they may be able to offer.

These subsequent reports (though on the same subject) received through Deputy Commissioner and Deputy Inspectors General, with their notes and opinions and any additional information which they may be able to give, will always be most valuable.

Districts referred to in para 1.

Ambala Circle	{ Ambala Ludhiana Ferozepur }	Lahore Circle	{ Lahore Amritsar Gurdaspur Jullundur Hashiarpur }
Rawalpindi Circle	{ Gujarat Gujranwala Sialkot }		

DOCUMENT NO. 44

No. 14, dated the 16th February 1872.

From

The Government of India.

To

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

In continuation of our despatch No. 12, dated the 2nd instant, we transmit for Your Grace's information a copy of further papers noted in the annexed list, relating to the recent disturbances committed by Kookas in the Punjab.

List of papers to accompany Judicial Despatch from the Government of India to Her Majesty's Secretary of State, No. 14, dated the 16th February 1872.

1. Telegram from Punjab, dt. 29th January, 1872.
2. Telegram from Punjab, dt. 4th February, 1872.
3. Letter from Punjab, No. 44C, dt. 30th January 1872, and enclosures.
4. Letter to Punjab No. 289, dated 8th February 1872.

DOCUMENT NO. 45

Dated Ludhiana, the 17th February 1872.

From

L. Cowan, Esq.,
Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana.

To

T.D. Forsyth, Esq., C.B.,
Commissioner and Supdt. Amabala Division.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of letter of the Secretary to Government, Punjab, to your address, No. 73C,

dated 13th February 1872, with enclosure from the Secretary to the Government of India, No. 289, dated 8th idem, forwarded to me with your endorsement of the 13th instant.

2. I regret extremely that the language used by me in my letters to your address has not fully conveyed the grounds for the apprehensions entertained by me that a serious outbreak was contemplated by the Kukas, and the urgent necessity which existed for summarily punishing the insurgents. Those letters were written amid press of other duties, when I was subject to constant interruptions. I do not now wish to retract anything I have written; but I would ask permission to alter two statements. I was wrong in saying that the outbreak was a "miserable" attempt at rebellion. It was a bold and daring attempt, and when I wrote that the rebels were dispirited, I should have added that the chief cause of their despondency was the non-arrival of their co-religionists to their assistance. When I heard that Malehr Kotla had been attacked, I at once feared that the rising would be a general one. It was known to me, and to every officer who has been connected with this and neighbouring districts, and to the higher authorities, that the firm belief was entertained by all Kukas that their rule was soon to commence. The Subahs had been moving about the country in a very suspicious manner. The watchword of the sect "Death to the killers of cows"—was one which was eminently calculated to enlist on their side the sympathies of Hindus of all classes, and there had been, ever since the Raikot murders, a feeling of uneasiness and dread among all classes of the community. There was reason then from the beginning to fear that the outbreak would be a serious one.

3. On the 16th of January (the day before the executions) reliable information reached me that on the very morning of the attack gangs of Kukas were seen moving towards Kotla, and it is placed beyond doubt that on that and the two following days bands of Kukas continued to advance on Kotla, and dispersed on hearing of the fate of their brethern. The statements of the officials of the Kotla State, of the lumbardars

and others of neighbouring villages in Kotla and in British territory, and of the sowars and sepoys of Kotla, which have been forwarded to you, all prove that the information I received, and on which I founded the necessity for the action I took, was reliable.

4. When the first gang of insurgents was captured at Rur, the disturbance was over, but for the moment only ; and when the Native contingents arrived I no longer feared a successful attack on the town of Kotla, but parties of Kukas continued to arrive and to move about the neighbourhood. It was clear that the state of the weather and the flooded state of the country had alone prevented succour from arriving in time to prevent the capture, and there was no security that these bands would disperse peaceably ; but on the contrary, there was every reason to fear that they would proceed to commit fresh outrages in revenge for the capture of their co-religionists, and I need scarcely say that the plunder of a single village by one of these bands, or the murder of butchers, would have caused the movement to spread with rapidity. It was not then known to me that Ram Singh and his chief Subahs were being arrested and deported. Had a single known leader joined the gangs about Kotla, he would undoubtedly have led them to the commission of fresh outrages in other parts, and I respectfully submit that there were "immediate urgent reasons" for ordering a punishment which should strike terror into these gangs, and drive them to their homes. It is in evidence that the Naib Nazim of Sherpur was accompanied by three sowars only when he induced the insurgents to surrender. In point of fact there were several other horsemen with him in addition to the three cavalry, and he was closely followed for the spot by the villagers of Rur (who had fled to the jungle on approach of the Kukas) and by men of other villages.

5. In paragraph 11 of the letter of the Government of India, I am required to show "some ground for thinking that summary execution would, and that punishment in the ordinary course of law would not deter other persons from rebelling.

I would reply to this that the massacres at Amritsar and

Raikot in May and June last were committed by the same sect, acting under the same impulses and with the same avowed objects. During the enquiry into those cases, Colonel McAndrew Deputy Inspector General of Police, an officer, who thoroughly understands Native feeling, and who foresaw the danger setting in, applied to Government that the prisoners then captured should be summarily executed. I did not join in that recommendation fearing that such summary executions would have the appearance of reprisals rather than of punishment. The application was not acceded to. The greater number of the perpetrators and abettors of the Amritsar and Raikot massacres were apprehended. They were tried by the ordinary tribunals, and were executed or transported. Yet those executions and punishments according to law had no effect in preventing an outbreak of a much more serious character on the first opportunity. I submit therefore, that I had "some ground for thinking that summary execution would, and punishment in the ordinary course of law would not, deter other persons from rebelling, "for it is known that the beginning of this rebellion was the murder of butchers at Amritsar, followed by a similar massacre at Raikot.

With reference to paragraph 12 of the letter of the Government of India, directing me to state more fully the grounds of my belief that a serious outbreak was intended, I beg leave to make the following remarks.

6. In paragraph 2 of this letter I have stated my grounds for believing from the first that a serious outbreak was intended. I add here, what is so well known that it need only be mentioned, viz., that the partitioning of the whole land into Subahdaries, the implicit belief entertained by the whole sect that Ram Singh was soon to rule over the country, the restless working of the Subahs towards the fulfilment of their own prophecies, and the despatching of embassies to Foreign States, were all facts of grave political significance. It is quite certain that the butcher murders at Raikot and Amritsar were planned and perpetrated as part of a political plan, the object being to prepare the minds of all Hindus for the great coming event. It is well known that these murders were to have been followed

by other similar murders at Sirsa, Delhi, Firozepur³ and other places, and that the capture of the Raikot gang disconcerted, for a time, the plans of the leaders. When to this is added the fact that parties of Kukas from all parts flocked towards Kotla on the day of the attack and for two days after, in weather in which no reasonable man would allow his cattle to go out of doors, the unmistakeable object of these men being to join the insurgents, I humbly submit that these were strong grounds for believing that a serious outbreak was intended, that there was every probability that Hindus of other denominations would join in the insurrection if it once gained head, and that judging from past experience, punishment in the ordinary course of law would not deter other persons from rebelling.

7. That a danger has been averted is, I submit, amply corroborated by the evidence subsequently recorded and forwarded to you. I would only here call attention to the evidence of the lumbardars of Syar ; to the fact that the day after the attack on Kotla the Guru Ram Singh exclaimed, in a moment of excitement, when some of his disciples asked him for orders, "Heera Singh and Lena Singh" (the insurgent leaders) "are fools ; they disobeyed my orders ; they should have waited till Cheyt", for words to that effect ; to the statement of the convicted prisoner Bugwan Singh that the rails were to be torn up between Ambala and Ludhiana, and agents sent to raise the country about Amritsar ; to the fact that the Maharaja of Patiala found it necessary to arrest and load with irons Sirdar Mangal Singh ; and to the remark, pregnant with meaning, of the Sikh Sirdar Utam Singh, of Ramgarh, a relative of the Maharaja of Patiala—"you must have troops at Ludhiana, and they must not be Sikhs."

P.S.—The enclosures of your memorandum are herewith returned.

DOCUMENT NO. 46

(Confidential)

JUDICIAL JUNE, 1872

No. 89C, dated Camp Sirhind, the 20th Feb. 1872.

From

L. H. Griffin, Esq.,

Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

To

E.C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.,

Secy. to the Government of India.

In continuation of my letter No. 78C, dated 16th current, I am desirous to forward, for the information of the Government of India, copies of further evidence received through the Commissioner of Ambala from the Extra Assistant Commissioner at Kotlah, regarding the Kooka outbreak.

Further evidence regarding the Kooka outbreak.

Bhoop Singh, of Rurr, Putteala Territory on solemn affirmation : About a watch and a half after sun-rise the gang of Kookas who attacked Kotlah came to my village the same day. They were 70 or 80 altogether. Gurdit Singh, Hira Singh, Bishen Singh, Narain Singh, Gundar Singh and Harnam Singh were natives of my villages. Six of the gang went to the house at Hira Singh, Kooka, and the rest stayed at the Pepulwala well belonging to deponent. They had swords, gundassas and axes covered with blood. Hira Singh came to my house ; he had a naked sword in his hand, which was stained with blood. He told me "the words of Suth Guru had come to pass Suth Guru ka bhana ho gaya)". I have often told you, "continued he, to become a Kooka and fight for religion (jehad), otherwise you would suffer ; give us help." I told him I had no time, he had better go to his house. Hira Singh was wounded at the time and he, hearing the above reply, went to his house. All the villagers through fear abandoned their houses and went

out of the village. I immediately sent Gamul Singh, my nephew, on horseback to Sherpor to give information to the Nazim. I remained at my house. After two hours Inaz Ali with Gamul Singh and another sowar, etc. came to the village. I went to him. He attended to the wounded, comforted them and taking all the Kookas prisoners, conveyed them to Shepor in carts. Jowahir Singh, and Bhola Singh disappeared from the village, and are still at large. I have known the following: Hira Singh, Lehna Singh of Sukrundi, Gurmukh Singh and Maluk Singh of Pharwai, and no others. The gang came to our village from Kotlah. I did not ask them through fear as to where they were going. Assailant Kookas made no mention in respect of any Kookas of my villages and Gurmukh Singh of Pharwai often persuaded me to become a Kooka (Suth Guru ka khaini ho jawega), and further said as a sabad "Ram Singh is my king of kings, he is to uproot all the kings." No other gang passed through my village.

Kurm Singh, Zemindar of Kungunwal Kotlah. I went to Singhwal, Nabha Territory to mourn the death of Kant Singh, my cousin. Bhupa (barber), Kurm Singh and some women were with me, we stayed that night at Bhoota Singh's in Silian Singhwal. In the morning we saw Kookas going to Bhainee on the Lohri festival. My companions with women returned home. I went to Bhainee and put up with a Brahmin; it was the Lohri day. Next day there was a Kooka meeting (dewan). I did not go to the place, but saw Kookas singing here and there like mustanas. The day following Maghi at 4 o'clock I went to the dewan where 25 books of the Grunth-Sahibs were read out in Ram Singh's house; found Ram Singh there. They were in all 1,000 men about 500 women in the house. Great many Kookas were on the roofs of houses, many spectators were standing outside, no access to the dewan. Fire offerings were going on, and afterwards halowa was distributed, and then people got food from the *. Night came on.

* Blank-sic. in orig.

I left the place, and dewan was also over. At 1 A.M. the same night all the Kookas bathed in the Ram Sur Tank built by Ram Singh. I also bathed at 2 A.M. Dewan was held and lasted till 6 A.M., when Ram Singh told the people to go home.

Many left then and there, and some made preparations to start. Two hundred kookas, who were called mustanas, remained at the well called Akal Bunga. I also proceeded there to see the sight. This well is 200 paces to the west of Ram Singh's house. These were planning. Some said the railroad should be first cut off, because if they attacked any place troops will come at once by rail; some said attack should be first made on Lahore; some said first Malodh, because the Sirdar had given the opinion that Kookas should be hung; then Kotlah, Nabha and Patiala; thence to Delhi, where the Goojurs should be got to fight with the British. They shall destroy each other, and we shall get the throne of Delhi. If we die, still it is good, we shall die for religion. These mustanas then came to Ram Singh and went to the house, and I remained outside on my horse; but when they came out, they said Bhai Ram Singh says "do bhujun." at present no orders are given; but they said they shall die for religion. They were about 200 men. All lifted up their arms and said "whoever wishes to die may come with us." They then proceeded to Rampore jumping. I went to Kuttain; but I heard their shouts of suth sree akal. I was present at the dewan. Bhai Ram Singh said nothing at that time. I went home via Kuttain, and there heard that Kotlah had been attacked. When these mustanas left Bhainee they had no arms or gundasas, but each had an axe. In my opinion they got gundasas, etc. afterwards from Malodh, etc.

Dowlut, Lumbardar of Bhainee Ala. On the day of the Lohri and the Maghi fairs about 1,000 Kookas gathered at Bhainee. They were natives of surrounding districts. They commenced coming to Bhainee a week before the fair. They were called by Ram Singh. Lohri fair has never before been at Bhainee. Last year at the death of Mussamut Jussain, Ram Singh's wife, Kookas gathered at Bhainee. About the Lohri time Ram Singh has been out among his disciples. Sometimes he went out in Mangserr, sometimes at other times. Twenty or 22 Subhas were present, dewan was held, and haloa distributed; also fire offerings made. Kookas were fed at Ram Singh's kitchen. They talked ruling the country and proposed attacking Kotlah, etc. The mustana Kookas were at the Akal Bunga Well, being ordered by Ram Singh to remain

there. They made a great noise. In the morning, *i.e.* Saturday, Kookas left Bhainee for their houses. One hundred started towards Malodh, and at 2 in the day 200 more (mustanas) left Bhainee and went towards Rampore; and they proposed to attack Malodh and Kotlah. They shouted "come Khalsajee let us attack Kotlah (Chalo Khalsajee Kotlah ko maro)". They were armed with axes. I, Bhugwana, and Lukhoo, lumbardars followed them as far as Latee, being told by the Deputy Inspector to watch their movements. The Kookas went on to Rampore. Bhugwana followed them, and we returned

*Next day (Sunday) 100 more Kookas
 * Blank-sic. in org. left Bhainee and went towards the same direction as the two first gangs. Cannot say whether they joined others or not. I, Lukhoo lumbardar, and Bhugwana chokeydar and * went to see the 200 mustanas previous to their leaving Bhainee being told by the Deputy Inspector to discover their intentions. These mustanas made a great uproar, and said "Suth Guru Ram Singh is king", with long arms, and no one else. They abused us and we returned. I have heard that Ram Singh told them to leave Bhainee after taking their food, and preserve his honour; but this was not said in my presence. I have also heard that a Kooka from Malodh came to Ram Singh with information of the attack at Malodh. Subsequently no Kookas came to Bhainee. This gang shouted that "whoever wishes to die may accompany them". They then left Bhainee for Kotlah. They were not joined by any one at Bhainee. I know Gurmukh Singh, of Pharwai, and none else. The Kookas of Bhainee made no mention to me about this affair. Before the Kotlah attack I often heard mustana Kookas say that they shall rule the country. The Kookas, when gathering at Bhainee, asked Ram Singh's permission to attack any place he ordered. Ram Singh used to tell them, wait for a short time. Whenever they gathered together, they talked of ruling the country.

Lukhoo, Lumbardar of Bhainee Ala, on solemn affirmation. The Lohri fair was on Thursday and Maghee was on Friday. A week before the Lohri fair Ram Singh told the Kookas to come to Bhainee. On that day they were about 1,000 Kookas, natives of surrounding districts, and of Patiala,

Nabha, Kotlah, Faridkot, etc. There were 22 Soobahs. On the day of Lohri and Maghee a great meeting (dewan) was held in Ram Singh's house. Twenty-two grunths were recited. There were fire offerings and distribution of sweetmeats. The Kookas were fed by Ram Singh. The mustana Kookas were under orders of Ram Singh, put up at the Akal Bunga well built by Ram Singh, and 200 paces from his house. I used to go every day to the dewan and see Kookas. The mustanas often said they were to rule the country. First Nabha, Jheend, Patiala and Ferozpor would be taken and then the throne of Delhi. The Kookas of the Manjha were to take Lahore. I have heard with my own ears Ram Singh telling the Kookas that they should surely reign and that he would assist them. Ram Singh, moreover, read out to them from a book and said, "see, there are the Guru's words that you shall reign". On the Saturday they Kookas were dismissed to their homes. A gang, numbering 100, proceeded in the morning towards Kotlah, and at 2 in the day 200 Kookas (mustanas), after seeing Ram Singh, went towards Malodh and Kotlah through Rampore and Latoo. They left in a very joyful mood. I followed them as far as Latoo, being ordered by the Deputy Inspector to do so. The chowkeydars followed them further. They had axes in their hands and said they intended to take Kotlah, Nabha, etc. The mustanas, when leaving, asked Sahib Singh, Soobah and Harnam Singh, Soobah, brother to Gyani Singh (hanged), to go with them. They said they would follow but never went. On Saturday 100 more Kookas left Bhainee and went in the same direction. Afterwards, on Monday morning, a Kooka came from Malodh and told Ram Singh that, after attacking Malodh, the Kookas had gone to Kotlah, Ram Singh said "well done" accha hua. The Kookas was fed and given one seer goor and dismissed. I was present when the above took place. The 100 mustanas, when starting towards Kotlah, had set on fire their razies. Before their departure Ram Singh came once, and just for a show, put his cloth round his neck and asked the mustanas to leave Bhainee and preserve his honor. In my opinion Ram Singh did this to free himself from responsibility. The Kookas will not do anything without the orders of Ram Singh, and this gang was called on the spot by all the Soobahs in consultation. In time of need they would have given any

assistance, for instance, the two gangs which left Bhainee afterwards were for the assistance of the first gang. They afterwards scattered and none returned to Bhainee. Ram Singh went to Malodh under orders of the Deputy Commissioner etc.

Surmut Khan.—On the 14th January information was received at Kotlah of there being an attack upon Kotlah. Sowars went on rounds the whole of that night. In the morning they went to their homes. On the 15th January about 100 Kookas entered the city by the demolished portion of the wall near Sanan Tower, went straight to the Fort ; killed some servants of the State ; some Kookas were also killed. They carried away some swords. I saw the Kookas going out, but I had no orders. However, I, Najib Khan Fatta Muhammad Khan, etc., pursued the Kookas. They went out by the road near the well Naiwala towards Secunderpore. Four of the Kookas were on horseback ; they had gundassas, axes and swords with them. They were pursued by Nawab's servants, but whenever Kookas turned round, the Nawab's men retired. A kos from Kotlah, Bakar Ali and Nuthoo of Kotlah fired twice at the Kookas. Nuthoo shot a horse of the Kookas. They said, we are going to Nabha and then to Patiala, whence they shall go to Delhi, where they shall stand up a banner. You (Kotlah men) may come there and have a fight. When Kookas reached the confines of Rurr, Nawab's men retired. Kookas went onwards (again said). Kookas remained at that village. At last the Patiala officials apprehended them. The Kookas were persued and assaulted in three places, Naiwala well, Panjberi, and the confines of village Bhudan. I was present all through, but was not told to make an attack. I was Nawab's resaldar and deputed to Ambala Commissioner's Office. Have been without employment for the last year. It was talked abroad that another gang from Rampore was to make another attack. I do not recognize any one.

Sher Khan, Sowar of Khan Sahib.—A week before the attack of Kotlah I went to Pharwai to realize 73 Rs. revenue from Gurmukh Singh, Kooka, Lumbardar of that village. He intended to sell of his lands and property, and the Khan Sahib were, therefore, anxious to recover the land revenue from him.

I brought him to Kotlah. On the road I asked him the reason of his disposing of the property, etc. ; he said, they (Kookas) were about to rule the country, and that it was good to give away property, in the name of God. The revenue was realized of him. On 15th January 1872 Kotlah was attacked. Kazi Khuda Bux and Meeram Bux, Resaldar, pursued Kookas. I accompanied them. We overtook them at Rurr. They were about 100 ; had swords, gundas, axes and clubs. Four were on horseback. Kookas there said—"we had plundered no property, they (Kotlah people) had better return, and we shall proceed onwards." The Kookas then went on, and I went to Kotlah to fetch a gun, the gun was sent off, and I joined the sowars. The Kookas went into Rurr, I did not afterwards see the Kookas at Panjberi. Of the Kookas, I recognise Gurmukh Singh, of Pharwai, and none else. Gurmukh Singh was blown from gun on the 17th January 1872. Gurmukh Singh was asked if he said Kookas were to rule the country ; he said *A spark of fire has been thrown into Kotlah ; there shall be a great fire, so that even one man shall not be left for three women.

*Blank—i.e. in orig.

Resaldar then separated us and I heard no more from him.

Gulab Singh, Lumbardar of Rurr.—On the day of attack at Kotlah, came to Kotlah to purchase a buffalo from Resaldar of Nawab Sahib. At Bunsee's shop I saw 80 Kookas going out of the town. They were armed with swords, gundas, axes and clubs. They loudly said "we have (mahoorat kurna) and shall bring the SuthGuru with us the next time, when each brick of Kotlah shall be separated." I went to my village. No gang of Kookas passed through this village subsequently. Gurmukh Singh of Pharwai was going in advance of the rest, and I recognised him. I did not ask him any question.

Nuthoo.—On the day of attack I also came to the Fort. There were about 80 Kookas. These were armed, some with swords, and others axes, gundas, and clubs. They were followed by Kotlah men. I also went after them. At the

well of Nawab an assault was made upon them. At * Kookas, turned round and told the Kotlah men not to follow them, as they were going to Delhi. A mounted Kooka came to me, and I fired at him, his horse was shot dead. He was taken along by other Kookas. The Kotlah men did not stand there, but retired as soon as Kookas turned round. I pursued them to the confines of Rurr and then returned. These Kookas were not joined by others, but it was rumoured abroad that there was to be another attack.

Sahiba, Zemindar of Rubboo.—Before the attack at Malodh some 90 Kookas came from Bhainee and stopped at his well ; it was at the dead of night, they had axes, gundasas, and clubs ; they remained there the whole day ; got vessels from Lehna Singh Kooka, and Narain Singh, Sadhana, prepared food. Dhuma Singh, Khezan Singh, etc. (12 in number) joined them. They said Guru ka bhana, ho gaya, khalsa paida ho gaya). They shall rule the country. They said—we would go to Kotlah and thence to Rurr, and at three guries before sun set they left for Kotlah. They stopped at my well, because they knew Lehna Singh of my village. Next day, a watch after sun rise, we heard of the attacks on Malodh and Kotlah. I recognise the Kookas of my village who were among them. I did not speak to them through fear, but the Kookas of my village said “Suth Guru had given orders, therefore, we shall also accompany the band to Kotlah.” Before the occurrence, Kookas said that at the Lohri there shall be a large gathering.

Attar Singh, Lumbardar of Rurr, on solemn affirmation. On the day of attack at Kotlah, at noon, Kookas came to my village. I saw Hara Singh of my village covered with wounds; sent Jamal Singh to the Thana on horseback. The Nazim ultimately came on spot, and, having apprehended all the Kookas, took them to the Sherpor Thanna. I have known six of my village (named by Jamul Singh) and Gurmukh Singh of Pharwai engaged in this outbreak. The Kookas then said that if they were killed it was no matter, the words of Guru must come to pass ; there are still seven lakhs of Kookas.

They had bloody swords, axes and gundasas. They made no mention of their further intentions. Before the occurrence the Kookas in this village said that, when the words of Guru Saplipal Janegi have been fulfilled, the carpet * would be wrapt up, viz., the present Government shall not exist and Suth Guru Ram Singh shall reign.

Jamee, Lumbardar of Bhoor, on solemn affirmation. On the day of attack, at one watch after sun-rise, saw about 100 Kookas passing along their village; Kotlah men were pursuing them. The Kookas had naked swords, gundasas, and axes in their hands; they loudly said "that the Khalsa had appeared (Khalsa Pargat ho gaya), there is little disturbance now at Kotlah, but there will be still a greater disturbance, Suth-Guru shall sit on the throne of Delhi, and the Khalsa shall spread, the Khalsa shall rule the country." I went with the Kotlah men to Rurr, and returned with them. It was rumoured that Kookas, who had gathered at Suggabun and Rubboo would make another attack. The gang came from Kotlah. I recognized Gurmukh Singh, Kooka, of Pharwai. I did not speak to the Kookas; there is no Kooka in their village. Before the occurrence Gurmukh Singh persuaded me to become Kooka, saying jagirdars etc., and have become Kookas. No other gang passed through my village.

Lehna Singh, Kooka, of Rubboo, on solemn affirmation.—The night preceding the day of attack on Malodh and Kotlah about 100 Kookas came from Bhainee and stopped at my well, some 600 or 700 paces off the village. The well also belongs to Thulla and Sahib Singh. They had axes, gundasas, and clubs; three had ponies. I have been a Kooka for the last six years, Ram Singh gave me the Nam. The Kookas had atta, ghee, and sugar with them. They got vessels from Narain Singh and myself and took their meals. They remained at the well the whole day. I recognize 12 persons of my village who joined the gang (named by Hakumut). Of these 12, Sahib Singh, Wazeer Singh, and Khazan Singh were working these wells. Kookas said they would first go to Kotlah and then to Rurr. They said the Khalsa shall reign, it has appeared. I also recognized Hira Singh, Lehna Singh of Sukrundi, Mega

Singh of Mahraj, Gurmukh Singh of Pharwai and Sohalla Singh of Lehra. They stopped at my well, because they knew me and I was a Kooka. At three guries before sun-set they left. Of the 12, who joined from my village, Sahib Singh returned. I was asked to go with them, but I said I was old and infirm. Next day I heard that Kookas had made disturbances at Kotlah and Malodh. Six have been blown from guns, and five are still at large. No other gang passed this village. The Kookas told me, as well as other Kookas of my village, that they have got the raj of the country. Before the above occurrence heard nothing from Kookas. They may have planned affairs at Bhainee.

Hukumut, Lumbardar of Rubboo, on solemn affirmation.— On the preceding night of the day that Kotlah and Malodh were attacked, 90 Kookas came from Bhainee and stopped at the well belonging to Sahib Singh and Lehna Singh. They borrowed vessels to cook food from Lehna Singh and Narain Singh. They came at the last watch of the night. The following persons of our village joined them.

1. Daya Singh ; 2. Sohan Singh ; 3. Bela Singh ; 4. Sobha Singh ; 5. Sarunkh ; 6. Sebah Singh ; 7. Dya Singh ; Ramdona ; 8. Maka Singh ; 9. Uttar Singh ; 10. Sahib Singh ; 11. Wozeer Singh ; 12. Khezan Singh.

The gang said they would first go to Kotlah, thence to Rurr and Sukrundi, "Khalsa has appeared, the country will be ruled by them," they heard this from SuthGuru. They left our village three guries before sun-set for Doohal ; they had gundasas, axes and clubs. On being asked, they said "we are going at our pleasure to Kotlah." I only recognize the Kookas of my village, and none else. No other gang passed through their village. The Kookas of my village said that (*i.e.* the works) "bhaina of Guru shall come to pass in a short time. Five Kookas of their village are still at large ; six have been blown from guns. There were 20 Kookas in this village. We reported the arrival of these Kookas at Police Office through chowkeydar. Next morning we heard that Malodh and Kotlah had been attacked.

DOCUMENT No. 47

No. 93C, dated Lahore, the 22nd February 1872.

From

L.H. Griffin, Esq.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

To

E.C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.,
Secy. to the Government of India.

With my letters Nos. 9C and 15C, dated 16th and 17th January last, I communicated the intended arrest of Ram Singh, the Kooka leader, and of his principal and most influential Subahs, and requested the issue of Warrants under Regulation III of 1818 for their detention. The whole of the men mentioned in my letters were arrested, and despatched to Allahabad, where they are now confined. Of the action taken by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor, His Excellency, the late Viceroy and Governor General in Council, was pleased to express his entire approval.

2. Since that time it has been necessary to deport one of the Kuka leaders, Sirdar Mangal Singh, of Raipur, made over to the Government by the Maharaja of Patiala, who was desirous of his removal from the Punjab.

3. I am now directed to express the carefully considered opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, that Ram Singh and all his Subahs, now at Allahabad, and now referred to in the preceding paragraph, be removed from India to Rangoon, or to such other place out of British India, which may appear to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General appropriate. Allahabad itself, on the main line of communication, and a noted place of Hindoo pilgrimage, is open to many objections.

4. Paragraph 12 of your letter No. 289, dated 8th instant, desired an expression of His Honor's opinion as to whether there were and substantial grounds to apprehend a rebellion on the part of the Kukas. And whether he considered that any special measures were necessary for the prevention of such a rebellion and for the maintenance of peace.

5. The Lieutenant-Governor observes that the papers, which have been submitted to the Government of India, show that whatever the original tendency of the Kuka doctrine may have been, they have now become of a political character; the designs of the leaders, more or less understood by their followers, being to attempt a restoration of the Sikh power in the Punjab. The evidence which proves this is not all of such a nature as to be placed on formal record, although the Lieutenant-Governor believes that sufficient has already been submitted to convince the Government of India of its correctness. There is, in addition, the unanimous belief among loyal and intelligent natives, that the Kuka movement is one which the Government cannot afford to treat with indifference; the conduct and bearing of the Kukas themselves, and the prophecies current among them of the near approach of the time when the English would be expelled from the country, and the followers of Guru Ram Singh receive lands and honours.

6. The Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor, while, under no apprehension of any rising, which could not be promptly suppressed, is yet most strongly of opinion that the sentiments of which the Kuka creed in the outward sign and expression is one which should be, if possible, eradicated. The real danger of that creed in the form which it has now assumed consists in this, that it appeals strongly to the sympathies of a large section of the Native community outside the circle of avowed Kukas. The denunciation of kine killing, and even the active measures taken against butchers at Raikote and Umritsur, have enlisted to a certain extent the sympathies of even well disposed Hindoos; while the predictions of a restoration of the Khalsa appeal to the sympathies of all Sikhs who have not forgotten the traditions of the past. There is evidence, no doubt, to show that no general coalition exists at

present between the orthodox Sikhs and the Kukas, but there is also evidence to show that the hostile feelings between these sects is less strong than formerly in the recent large accession to the numbers of the Kukas from the ranks of Sikhs, and in the fact that, while a few years ago, no men of good family and position had joined the new creed; there is now a considerable number of petty sirdars and men of family among its avowed adherents.

7. There is no evidence further to show with what precise intention, or with what success Kuka emissaries have visited distant parts of India or States, on its northern border; but it may be safely presumed that the intentions was political, and not religious, from the open assertions of the Kukas, that they expect aid from Nepal and Kashmere, that the troops of the Cis-Sutlej States would join them in the event of a rising, and that the ranks of the British Army contained numerous members of their creed.

8. The wild-boasts and predictions of uneducated and fanatical men should not, the Lieutenant-Governor observes be excepted as true, or have assigned to them a value which they do not possess; but no indication of popular feeling can with safety be neglected by the Government, and the Honble the Lieutenant-Governor is convinced that the removal of the Kuka leaders from Hindustan is necessary in the interests of general tranquillity. As long as Ram Singh and his Lieutenants remain in the country, so long will his followers predict and expect his speedy return, and will continue to intrigue against the Government and remaining a constant source of anxiety. With his absolute removal from India, the restless and excited feelings now in existence in the Punjab may reasonably be expected to decline and in time to disappear. The Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor has only made the recommendation of the present letter after much deliberation, after having passed through much of the country, lately, the scene of disturbance, and after communication with all those Native and European gentlemen most likely to form an unprejudiced, calm and intelligent opinion on the state of affairs. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, whose loyal and good

spirit are well known to the Government of India, is very strongly of the same opinion as the Lieutenant-Governor.

9. His Honor trusts that the recommendation here made may receive the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, and that the removal the Kuka leaders from India, at an early date, may be ordered. The Lieutenant-Governor further considers that wherever located, they should be confined separately, and not permitted to communicate with each other.

DOCUMENT No. 47 (A)

No. 101C, dated Camp Ludhiana, the 24th Feb. 1872.

From

L.H. Griffin, Esq.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

To

E.C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.,
Secy. to the Government of India.

I am desired to forward, for information, a copy of a note of the 19th February, from Major J. Parsons, officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana, reporting the result of his inspection of the village of Bhainee on that date.

Memorandum dated Camp Sanewal; the 19th February 1872. Reports the finding of nine tulwars blades in a well in the vicinity of Bhainee.

The village was inspected by undersigned this morning. The large walled enclosure of Ram Singh being of a most unnecessary height, and evidently only intended for harbouring bad character in the event of any disturbance requiring it to be

used, the undersigned is having the north face lowered to a suitable height sufficient for security of domestic property.

J. Parsons

Deputy Commissioner

DOCUMENT No. 48

Minute by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor Punjab, dated the 26th February 1872.

In forwarding, for the consideration of the Government of India, Mr. Cowan's letter of the 17th instant, I desire to make the following remarks, supplementary to those contained in the letter of this Government, No. 59 C, dated the 7th February.

2. Since that was written, I have arrived at Ludhiana, and have had an opportunity of conversing with all classes of the people, and in particular with the leading personages of the Sikh and Muhammeden persuasions; I have further received various communications in the Police Department relative to the present attitude of the Kukas.

3. The tendency of the information I have thus additionally acquired greatly to strengthen the opinion I have hitherto expressed as to the dangerous character of this conspiracy. I have seen no reason to doubt the correctness of Mr. Cowan's belief (referred to in paragraph 12 of Mr. Bayley's letter) "that a serious outbreak was intended," and have no hesitation in saying that "there are substantial grounds to apprehend a rebellion on the part of the Kukas."

4. Such is the unanimous affirmation of the numerous persons whom I have consulted. The Afghan pensioners, the Sikh Sirdars, the Native and European officials, are equally positive on this head. Opportunity alone is awaited.

5. Amongst the Natives there is a similar unanimity of

approval of the executions at Kotla. I have heard nothing but applause and gratitude expressed in respect of the summary slaughter of the whole gang blown away from guns. In these sentiments I do not myself concur. But what I object to is not the incompetency of the Judge or the exceptional method of capital punishment employed, but the indiscriminate severity of the sentence given. I am disposed to regard the emergency as one that might excuse Mr. Cowan in deeming it necessary to waive the forms of law, and, however, shocking the mode of execution may generally appear, it is painless to the sufferer and well calculated to affright the by-standers and all who heard of it. Such blame as Mr. Cowan has justly incurred is not, in my opinion, enhanced by his having authorized this unusual but exemplary punishment.

6. By the deportation of the Guru Ram Singh and the leading Subahs, the designs of the sect have for a time been frustrated, and the fear inspired by the executions has had its own deterrent effect. But the permanence of the repression is doubtful. The large majority of the Subahs are still at large. Their interest is in fanning the fanatical flames, and the relatives of those who have suffered capitally are animated by a strong spirit of revenge. Meetings are held, sectarian union strengthened and expanded, new outrages are threatened. There is always the risk of some desperate adventure being attempted.

7. The numbers of these Kukas are doubtful. The outward signs by which they were at first distinguishable have of late been discontinued. The enumeration made through the Tehsildars gives so low a total as to raise a strong suspicion of its correctness, and is widely at variance with the popular reports. But the distinction between the Kuka and the orthodox Sikh is not so great. The Kuka leans towards a greater austerity. He repudiates wine. He objects to hunting and tells his beads. He boasts that he belongs to the former Khalsa, and treats the old Sikhs as backsliders. Odious and impertinent as all these affected scruples appear to the gentry, they have weight with the common people. Stories are abroad of vast multitudes miraculously led by the Guru. Those who

least give way to his pretensions admit that the hearts of all good Hindus are with him in his holy horror of kine-killing. The prominence given by him in his preaching to the militant doctrines of Guru Gobind Singh revive the hopes of the more adventurous spirit who love to recall the transformation of their ancestors from Zemindars into sirdars. A common religion, nationality and ambition incline the secret sympathies of the non-Muhammadan population between the Jamna and Jhelam towards the new Guru's self-reliant re-assertion of their own primitive mysticism, and they contemplate with troubled feelings of awe and admiration his practical confession of the faith that removes mountains. Touched in its finest fibres by the most subtle and seductive influences, the gross mass of an ignorant people might, under a combination of circumstances favourable to the audacious dreams of their spiritual guide, be wrought to such a pitch of enthusiasm as would render it for a time the formidable instrument of designs otherwise impracticable.

8. It is undoubtedly some such alarmed sense of the potency of the spell wielded by the Guru that finds expression in the general relief experienced by the gentry of all denominations, not only in the deportation of himself and his leading Subahs, but also in the wholesale and terrifying executions precipitated at Kotla. It is to them as if some monstrous dragon had been killed, the very breath of which, had it been suffered to live, would have bred pestilence and mortality throughout the country.

9. Therefore, when it is said, as it may be said truly, that these Kukas are an obscure sect of low-born mechanical fanatics, most often of the dregs of the people; that their numbers are indefinitely multiplied by vulgar rumour; that few learned or noble are found amongst them; that fewer still have been taken into the ranks of the Army or Police; that their wealth is small, their resources insignificant; that they are destitute of arms, horses, and ammunition, and of everything that is necessary to inspire confidence in their project of rebellion—their real, that is their potential force remains to be estimated; it can only be conjectured, and would vary under varying circumstances. But, under the worst for us, it might

embrace as a reserve the bulk of the Hindu population of the Punjab. Nor must it be forgotten that the strength of the Kuka sect is much increased by the completeness of its organisation; the whole Sikh population of the province being divided into districts and sub-divisions, in the charge of Subahs directly subordinate to the Guru, while Kuka emissaries and agents are stationed in many parts of India and in the States on its immediate border.

10. However deep and universal may be the feeling pervading a people, it will be slow in impelling them to enter upon anything like open rebellion against a powerful Government. But when this feeling has become nervously susceptible, the successes, local and insignificant perhaps in themselves, of small bands of devotees, moved to desperation by its influence, must inevitably vibrate through the whole body of those whom it associates together. It was under this conviction that, on receiving within a few hours of each other reports of the attacks on Malodh and Kotla, I applied to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to move up troops, and to the Government of India for warrants for deportation of Ram Singh and several of his Subahs, I thought it not impossible that, in the absence of a moveable force, a serious crisis might come about.

11. The attack on Kotla was unsuccessful ; and had it been otherwise it is matter of conjecture what the consequences would have been. But as the chief town of the only Muhammadan State in the Cis-Sutlej territory, its selection for assault appealed strongly to Sikh prejudices. It had in 1794 been similarly attacked in revenge for kine-killing by Bedi Sahib Singh, who, again in 1798 raised 7,000 Sikhs, *preached at Amritsar a religious war against the Afghans of Raikot on the same pretext*, overran the Raikot District, and laid siege to Ludhiana. Nor can it be left out of view in this retrospect that, although *a Patiala force soon reached Kotla. Bedi Sahib Singh was a sacred character, and the Sikh soldiers were unwilling to fight against him.* Making due allowances for exaggerated apprehension on the part of the residents of Ludhiana lest history should repeat itself, I am not surprised at

*Vide Griffins' Raja of the Punjab.

their unanimous support of Mr. Cowan's severity. The Afghan pensioners doubtless feel, that they themselves might have been the victims of a sudden and ravage outburst of sanguinary fanaticism.

12. My late enquiries, therefore, have confirmed me in the view which I originally took of Mr. Cowan's conduct. All the circumstances set forth in the preceding recital justified him in regarding the possible consequences of the Kuka movement as seriously involving the interests of the British Government, and the immediate security of the European and of higher Native community. I concur with him in thinking that it was necessary to visit the perpetrators of the outbreak, even though unsuccessful, with exemplary punishment ; and though I think that he acted with undue haste and unnecessarily exceeded his powers, and included in the capital sentence many more culprits than were required for the sake of a striking example, nevertheless he did substantially no injustice, as the circumstances of the time were such as to overburden his mind with his obligation to proclaim without delay that fanatics, equally careless of their own lives and those of other, shall not be allowed, in secret reliance on the sympathies of their less daring co-religionists, to form themselves into gangs and carry rapine and murder into any place they may select, with the ultimate purpose of raising a general insurrection ; as, in short, he inflicted no punishment in excess of those legally incurred, and sincerely, and in my opinion justly, believed, that a severe example was needed—taking all these considerations together, I still hold that it is just and polite to support, even though I do not wholly approve of, his acts. And in this conclusion I am not influenced by the fact that some encouragement has been derived by the Kukas from his suspension from office, which they attribute to the mysterious agency of their Guru.

13. As regards the measures to be taken to check further outbreaks on the part of Kukas, I have instructed the police to put a stop, as far as possible, to assemblies of more than five in number, and to deal with them under Section 43 of the Penal Code. The remaining leaders are also carefully watch-

ed. All signs of approximation between the Kukas and orthodox Sikhs are brought to notice. At present nothing further than incessant vigilance is necessary and I think it preferable not to refer to measures taken by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in consultation with the Government of India.

R.H. DAVIES

DOCUMENT No. 49

Circular Memo. No. 47

Dated Lahore, 26th February 1872.

From

Under Secretary to Government, Punjab.
Police Department.

To

All Commissioners and
Deputy Inspectors General of Police.

In continuation of Memo. No. 11 of 23rd January last ordering the police to disperse all Kuka Assemblies of 5 or more at Dharamsalas to be dispersed. assembly composed of five or more such persons. His Honour the Lt. Governor is pleased to direct that this procedure shall extend to assemblies of five or more Kukas held in the ordinary secular meeting places commonly called Dharamsalas.

DOCUMENT No. 49 A*No. 648, dated the 28th February 1872.**From*

L.H. Griffin, Esq.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

To

E.C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.,
Secy. to the Government of India.

I am desired, with the reference to your letter No. 289, dated 8th instant, to forward a letter, dated 17th instant, from Mr. Cowan, on the subject of the executions at Kotla, together with a minute of recorded by his honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

DOCUMENT No. 50*No. 9, dated India office, London, the 29th February 1872.**From*

Her Majesty's Secretary of States for India.

To

The Government of India.

The despatch of Your Excellency's predecessor in Council, dated 19th January, No. 7 of 1872, forwarding some telegrams relative to certain disturbances created by bodies of Kukas in the Ludhiana District of the Punjab, has been considered by me in Council.

I shall await with anxiety the full report expected from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

No order

DOCUMENT No. 51

Principles laid down for dealing with members of the Kooka sect serving in the army, or desirous of being enlisted for such service.

(Confidential)

No. 195, dated the 4th March 1872..

From

Colonel H.K. Burne,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Military Department.

To

The Ajutant General.

With reference to your letter No. 667, A* of the 22nd ultimo, I am desired to acquaint you, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, that *"Native Army". however desirable it may be to refrain from enlisting men of the Kooka class, it does not appear to the Governor General in Council to be expedient to expel any men already serving in the Native Army, or in any of the Government establishments, merely because they belong to, or are supposed to be connected with, the sect in question.

2. It appears to His Excellency in Council that the disposal of these men should depend upon the individual character of each, and those only should be removed who are suspected, on well ascertained grounds, of being turbulent or seditious, or of associating with suspected characters.

3. This is the principle on which it was decided last year to deal with workmen employed in the Arsenal at Ferozepur or elsewhere, when the subject was brought demi-officially to the notice of the Government of India, and His Excellency in Council sees no sufficient reason to depart from it.

4. I am to request, therefore, that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief may be moved to call for a particular report on the character and antecedents of each of the men referred to in the list attached to your letter, and then to submit recommendations for their disposal on the principle which it has been thought best to adopt as above explained.

Copy of the above, and of that to which it is a reply forwarded to the Military Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, with a request that the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor may be moved to favor the Governor of India with his opinion on the subject, as whatever rules are adopted in the regular army should properly have equal application to the Punjab Frontier Force.

Copy of the above forwarded to the Home Department, with a request that the subject may receive consideration in that Department in reference to the constabulary forces.

DOCUMENT No. 51 A

(Confidential)

No. 172, dated the 7th March 1872.

From

E.C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India.

To

The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

With reference to the accompanying copy of a communication* from the Government of India in the Military Department to the Military Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, I am directed to request that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor will favor the Governor General in Council

*Confidential, No., 196,
dated 4th March 1872.

with his opinion on the propriety of applying to the constabulary forces the principles laid down by the Military Department for dealing with members of the Kooka sect serving in the army, or desirous of being enlisted for such service.

DOCUMENT No. 52

Memo No. 98.

Dated Lahore, 8th March 1872.

To

All Deputy Inspectors General of Police.

Requests they will instruct District Superintendents of Police to report, in each case, the name, parentage of orthodox Sikh or of any other person, who has given security personally, or given money security for a Kuka.

Sikhs who have given security for Kukas.

DOCUMENT No. 53

No. 472, dated the 13th March 1872.

From

E.C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.,
Secy. to the Government of India.

To

L.H. Griffin, Esq.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

With reference to my telegram of the 9th instant to the Lieutenant-Governor's address, I am to explain that the Governor-General in Council considers that ample evidence exists on record to warrant the continued detention of Ram Singh, and to show that his release would be dangerous to the peace and tranquillity of the country.

2. It appears, moreover, that he can hardly be kept in full safety, and be prevented from communicating with his adherents, whilst on the continent of India. His Excellency in Council has ordered that the place of his detention be in British Burmah.

3. With regard to the other prisoners noted on the margin, who have been arrested under the orders of the Punjab Government, there is not at present sufficient evidence before the Government of India that they are really men of dangerous character.

Sahib Singh	Maluk Singh
Rur Singh	Man Singh
Lukka Singh	Hukma Singh
Kahn Singh	Puhera Singh
Brahma Singh	Sirdar Mangul
Jowahir Singh	Singh of Raipur.

The Governor General in Council willingly accepted the opinion of the Local Government that their arrest was necessary at the time ; but His Excellency thinks it right that if these men are to be detained after the excitement immediately arising out of the late occurrence in the Ambala Division has died away, that the Government of India should be in possession of full and sufficient evidence to support such a measure.

4. I am, therefore, desired to request that all the evidence existing in any shape should be collected and be reduced to writing, and, when complete, should be placed without loss of time in the hands of some Civil Officer of good standing and sufficient Judicial experience. This officer should then proceed to Allahabad and separately examine each of the men detained. The statements made by each, whether self-exculpating or otherwise, should be taken down.

5. When this is done, a complete summary should be separately made of the case against every prisoner, and of the evidence on which it is based, concluding with the prisoner's own statement and the opinion of the officer conducting the enquiry as to the degree of guilt attaching to each man detained and as to the expediency or otherwise of releasing him.

6. These papers should be forwarded through the Government of the Punjab, and in transmitting them to the Govern-

ment of India, His Honor will be good enough to express his own opinion on every separate case so submitted, and to recommend, with reference to the evidence and to the influence and position of the individuals concerned, whether each may be atonce released or should be further detained, and in the latter case, whether immediately or for what period of time.

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DOCUMENT No. 53 A

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

To

The Chief Commissioner,
British Burmah.

Whereas the Governor General-in-Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen it fit to determine that Ram Singh shall be placed under personal restraint in British Burmah, you are hereby required and commended in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of Governor-General in Council.

Sd/- E.B.C.

Fort William ;
The 9th March 1872.

Secy. to the Govt of India,
in the Home Dept.

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DOCUMENT No. 53 B

Removal of Ram Singh, Kooka Leader,
from Allahabad to British Burmah.

No. 479, dated 10th March, 1872.

From

H.E. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.,
Secy to the Government of India.

To

J.T. Wheeler, Esq.,
Secy. to Chief Commissioner, of British Burma.

My Telegram of the 9th instant will have informed the Chief Commr. of the intended despatch to British Burmah of Ram Singh, the Kooka leader State prisoner under Regulation III of 1818, for detention in safe custody at such place in British Burmah as the Chief Commissioner may deem expedient.

2. A warrant under Regulation III of 1818, addressed to yourself, accompanies, and a fresh warrant will be issued to the officer whom the Chief Commissioner may charge with the custody of Ram Singh, as soon as this Government is informed of the place in which it is proposed to detain him.

3. Ram Singh is accompanied by two servants ; if they continue in attendance on him they must be kept in the same confinement, and subject, in every respect, to the same rules as Ram Singh himself. This is necessary lest they be employed as channels of communications with the Punjab : it is very desirable to prevent this.

4. They should, therefore, be distinctly asked if they are willing to remain with Ram Singh under these circumstances which must be fully explained to them. If they consent, a written acknowledgement of the explanation conveyed to them, and of their willingness to abide by the conditions imposed

should be taken from them. If, on the other hand, they decline, it should also be explained to them that their separation from him will be final and complete, and they should, if they persist in it, be returned to Calcutta for transmission to the Punjab by the first opportunity.

5. Subject to this proviso, however, and to due precautions against escape, the Governor-General in Council desires that Ram Singh should not be subjected to any severity, and that should be allowed such liberty of exercise and of taking his air as may be necessary for his health.

6. I am to request that the Chief Commissioner will report fully the measure which he may decide to adopt for securing these objects, and the monthly sum which will be necessary to maintain Ram Singh. His status was that of a petty zamindar in the Punjab. If Ram Singh desires to spend his own money in additional luxury, he may do so at the discretion of the Chief Commissioner.

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DOCUMENT No. 53

From

The Lieutenant Governor, N.W.P.

To

The Viceroy, Calcutta.

(Cipher) Allahabad, 10th March, 11-15 A.M.

Clear the line, Ram Singh could not leave last night. Despatch this morning by slow. Will reach Howrah tomorrow 9-30. One servant Nanoo accompanies. Party in charge of Inspector Henry.

Recd. 10-30 P.M.

10 March, 1872.

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DOCUMENT No. 53 D*From*

Allahabad.

To

Private Secretary.

Party left this morning Lieutenant Governor has telegraphed
to Viceroy.

Sd/— — — E.C.B.

10/3/72.

Why this morning ? or does it mean the mail train.

Sd/— — — (?)

— — —

DOCUMENT No. 53 (G)

: Sir,

Ram Singh, put on board all right at 7 P.M.

Yours obediently,

Sd/— — — — (?)

Dated : 11-3-72

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DOCUMENT No. 53 (F)

Govt. Telegraph Deptt.

Class S. No.	To (Station) Calcutta	From (Station) Rangoon	
No.	Date and hour Telegraph time Tendered for it.	No. of words 31	Official Instructions
	D. Hr. M. 10 15 18		
From : Person Secretary		To (Person) Home Secretary	

To (Address).

Your cypher telegram received all will be arranged.
Chief Commissioner wishes to know precise status of the person.
is he to be treated as a convict.

Signed.

T.M.

12-3-72.

DOCUMENT No. 53 (G)**Government Telegram Department.**

Class (P)	To (Station) Calcutta	From (Station) Rangoon
No.	(Telegram time) transmission	Date and hour. tendered for
official instructions.		
D.	H.	M.
No. of words		
14	14	6
26		

To (address)

Secretary

Is the man on his way by this steamer to be treated as a convict?—Has any warrant been sent?

Signed

T.M.

14-3-72.

DOCUMENT No. 54

Arrival of Ram Singh in Rangoon.

No. 121-53 p, dated Rangoon the 16th March, 1872.

From

C.B. Cooke Esq.

Offg. Assistant to the Chief Commissioner,
British Burma.

To

E.C. Bayley, Esq. C.S.I.,

Secy. to the Government of India.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 470, dated 10th March 1872, enclosing a warrant No. 46 dated 9th March, 1872 directing the Chief Commissioner to receive Ram Singh the Kooka Chief, into safe custody, and in reply I am to inform you that Ram Singh duly arrived this morning accompanied by one servant.

2. A comfortable separate ward has been enclosed for Ram Singh in Rangoon Central Jail, where he will be treated with every consideration consistent with his safe custody until the Chief Commissioner has decided whether he can be safely kept at Tavoy or Mergui. Regarding this, however, and the cost of his maintenance, a further communication will be addressed to the Government of India.

No Orders.

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DOCUMENT No. 54 (A)

No. 312, dated Rangoon, the 5th April, 1872.

From

W.P. Kelly, Esq. Inspector General of Prisons,
British Burma.

To

The Secy. to the Chief Commr. of British Burmah.

In reply to your letter No. 154-53 dated 25th ultimo, I have the honour to report that state prisoner Ram Singh is lodged in an upstairs house, formerly used as a female prison, within the walls of the central Jail here, the enclosure within which the house stands has been palisaded and boarded up on the south side to separate it entirely from the adjacent enclosure of the European prisoner ward, and contains a well, cook house and latrine. He has been provided with a bed, chairs, punkha etc. ; he is allowed to do as he likes, and is perfectly free within the enclosure, and is not locked up at night, as he wishes to sleep outside on the ground during the hot weather. The only restriction on him is that he is not allowed to communicate with the other world.

2. Three high caste Hindoo prisoners have been allowed to him as attendants, as only one servant arrived with him here from India.

3. A cow has been bought for him ; she is kept in the enclosure of his house. He is allowed to have every thing he wants in the shape of food, but his requirements seems to be moderate.

4. The cost for food for himself and servant will be about Rupees 40 per mensem; shoes and clothes, to the amount of Rupees 40, have been supplied to him, the cow cost Rupees 75, and the chairs, table, punkha and cot supplied by the Jail are worth about Rupees 50.

5. He appears to be in good health, but is depressed and restless especially at night, and complains much of heat,

although the building in which he is lodged is as cool as any place can be in Rangoon during the hot weather.

6. With reference to para 4 of the Home Secretary, letter No. 470, dated 10th March, 1872 I have the honour to enclose a written promise from the servant Nanoo Singh (the orders of Government having been fully explained to him) testifying his willingness to remain with Ram Singh under whatever restriction Government may from time to time see fit to impose.

DOCUMENT No. 54 (B)

Accommodation provided for Ram Singh, the Kooka Chief, a State Prisoner at Rangoon.

No. 290-53 p. dated Rangoon 13th April, 1872.

From

I. Talboys Wheeler, Esq.

Secy. to the Chief Commr. of British Burma.

To

E.C. Bayley, Esq. C.S.I.,

Secy. to the Government of India.

In continuation of my letter No. 121, dated the 16th ultimo, respecting the accommodation furnished to Ram Singh, the Kooka Chief, in the Central Jail at Rangoon, I am directed by the Chief Commr. to forward, for the information of the Govt. of India, a communication on the subject, No. 312 dated 5th instant, which has been since received from the Inspector General of Prisons.

2. It will be observed from Dr. Kelly's letter that Ram Singh has been lodged in a separate house surrounded by palisades within the prison walls; and that he is perfectly

free within his own enclosures, and has been provided with every reasonable comfort consistent with his safe custody.

3. The officiating Chief Commr. has paid a visit to Ram Singh, who appeared to be much depressed at his incarceration and made many complaints of restraint to which he was subjected. Mr. Eden endeavoured to meet his complaints as far as possible, but the chief grievances of Ram Singh referred to, his being confined inside the Jail and to the heat.

4. The officiating Chief Commr. is not disposed to lay much stress on the latter complaint, and he can generally think that the climate of Rangoon can be not as that of the Punjab, and in all probability the heat which continue a few weeks longer.

5. As regards the restraints to which Ram Singh is subjected within the Jail, Mr. Eden fears that it may lead to loss of health, as he seems disposed to be feverish and irritable, and he is aware of what the wishes of the Govt. may be on this point. If the circumstances of the case would permit of any relaxation, he would suggest that Ram Singh be located in the building now used as the Cantonment Post Office, which is situated close to the Main Guard, and is the house in which the late Ex. King of Delhi was confined. It is stockaded building and is immediately under the eye of the Main Guard. Should it not be appropriate to the purpose indicated the palisade would require repair.

6. If Ram Singh be lodged in those quarters a Native Officer and eight men must be employed as special guard over him ; and whole of the expenditure should be overcharged against the Political Department as he is not detained in connection with the administration of this province. The Offg. Chief Commr. is further of the opinion that a pony carriage must be kept for use of Ram Singh, and that he might be taken three times a week for a drive under the special charge of an Inspector of Police. It may be added that it is very detrimental to the Jail, that a State Prisoner of the description and character of the Kooka Chief should be confined within the walls.

7. Should the proposed arrangement be undesirable, Mr. Eden can only suggest that Ram Singh may be sent to Tavoy, where a small bungalow might be built in which he could be safely quartered.

Records on the file in G.G's office.

The question is whether Ram Singh is to continue in confinement in the Rangoon Jail or be removed to other building at Rangoon or sent to Tavoy.

H.W.W.

Mr. Eden's proposal in paragraph 5 seem fair, but the pony-carriage seems hardly needed ; it would probably be better for Ram Singh's health to take walking exercise.

E.C.B. 24-4-72.

Certainly not, but this is the only luxury he might be allowed at his own expense. I think the proposal to put him in a separate building is right.

The Financial Department will decide as to the cost ; it cannot be charged to the Burma Provincial Revenues.

B.H.E. 26-4-72.

I would put him in the separate house and give him not pony-carriage, telling him that these indulgence will be withdrawn, if he is discovered in correspondence with his adherents elsewhere. Telegraph this. N.

I would also tell Mr. Eden that Govt. would be interested in knowing more about the schemes and religious views of Ram Singh and of the character which he attributes to his own mission, if particulars of this could be elicited from him in conversation.

I am compelled to differ from His Excellency. Ram Singh very nearly escaped transportation of life as a criminal, he would have been transported if we could have relied on the witnesses who gave evidence of his complicity in the butcher's murders not being tempered with before the final trial. I cannot see why we should give such a man a pony-carriage ?

The Financial Department must see this case in reference to the expenditure to be incurred.

B.H.E. 29-4-72.

I do not insist on the purchase of a pony-carriage. I would give him the necessary driving exercise in any form. I quite concur in this.

B.H.E. 3-5-72.

DOCUMENT No. 55

Memo No. 110.

Dated Lahore, 15th March 1872.

All Deputy Inspectors General of Police.

Requests they will instruct District Superintendents to bring to the notice of the Deputy Commissioners the fact of any Kuka of notoriety residing in the District who is not a permanent resident of the district, who does in fact belong to another district, with a view to the said noted Kuka being sent back to his own district, should the Deputy Commissioner consider it expedient to order his being thus deported.

the men of notoriety to be sent to reside in their own proper districts.

Notice to be sent to district concerned.

Notice of any person being thus deported to be sent to the Deputy Commissioner and District Superintendent of the District he is sent to.

DOCUMENT No. 55 (A)

Circular Memo No. 113.

To

All Commissioners &
Deputy Inspectors General of Police.

In continuation of Circular memo No. 47 of 26th ultimo,
regarding Kuka assemblies at Dharam-
Occasions on which shalas, His Honor the Lieutenant Governor
more than five kukas is pleased to modify the restriction placed
may assemble in a on parties of five or more Kukas assembl-
place. ing in one place to the following extent :—

“Assemblages of five or more Kukas on the occasion of rejoicing or mourning in a family which they are connected by such social ties as to render their presence obligatory, should not be interfered with ; but the presence of Kukas not connected with the family by such ties, whether holding the position of Suba or not, should not be allowed.”

DOCUMENT No 56

DISMISSAL OF KUKAS SERVING IN THE POLICE
(Confidential)

No. 111, dated Lahore the 15th March, 1872.

From

Lient.—Col. G. Hutchinson, C.S.I.,
Under Secy., to Government Punjab, Civil
(Police) Department.

To

E.C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.
Secy. to the Government of India.

I am desired by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, with reference to your letter No. 172 of 7th instant, requesting his

opinion on the propriety of applying to the Constabulary Forces the principles laid down by the Military Department for dealing with members of the Kuka sect, serving in the army ; or desirous of being enlisted for such service, to reply as follows.

2. His Honor concurs with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in thinking that all Kukas should be dismissed from the ranks of Native Army, and further enlistment stopped, and that the same rule should be applied to the Constabulary.

3. It has been shown, in His Honor's opinion, that, however well-behaved individuals amongst the sect may be, they are subject to an organization requiring their unhesitating obedience to the secret mandates of its leaders. There is now no doubt that the object of the sect is the overthrow of the British Government and the reestablishment of the Khalsa Raj.

4. His Honor, therefore considers it advisable to show publicly that we are aware of these designs, and will not retain in the armed service of Government men bound to abet them. So long as it was possible to hold the belief that the Kuka association was a religious one, perfect tolerance was extended to it by the Local Administration. With the exposure of its false character there should, in His Honor's opinion, follow a change in our mode of dealing with these sectaries ; and it is simply a measure of prudence to eject them from positions, which enable them to propagate sedition in the ranks of those on whom we depend for its suppression.

5. Hitherto the procedure in the Punjab Constabulary as regards these men has been to refuse to enlist them, and to transfer such as are in the force to districts where the sect has but little sympathy. Their numbers are not large, probably in all the districts together not more than thirty known to be Kukas ; but as regards them ; His Honor desires now, with the sanction of the Supreme Government, to order their dismissal on such terms, as regards either gratuity or pension, as may in each case seem fitting.

avowed themselves Kookas, and retained the more dangerous secret dishonest Kookas, besides exasperating the whole sect and placing them in decided opposition to the Govt.

H.W.N.

6. His Honor has elsewhere expressed the dismay with which he saw that Kukas were retained in the Ferozpur Arsenal.

While the Kookas remained only a sect of religious reformers, I had no desire to interfere with them, and considered that to throw them out of the means of obtaining their livelihood would be to drive them to less honest ways of living, but the moment the sect becomes political, insurrectionist and aggressive, I think it is high time to remove them from our service.

A few Kookas may convert half a regiment or blow up a magazine, or facilitate entrance to it. The steps of the Kookas have more than once reported as directed towards the Ferozpur Arsenal.

I should, therefore, certainly advise these Asiatic Fenians very quietly removed from all such service as well as Police.

Remarks on the file.

But there will still remain the difficulty that we shall not be able to get rid of those who are secretly Kookas, and who are probably the worst of all. I am not sure that we shall effect the object we desire in this expulsion of those who are openly Kookas from our Army and Police. B.H.E. 21-3-72.

I think that the Lt. Governor should be allowed to act as he thinks necessary in this matter. J.S. 23-3-72.

I agree with Mr. Strachey as to the secret Kookas, of course we cannot turn them out; but why should we on that account keep the avowed ones in our service?

I would support the Lt. Governor. R.T. 24-3-72

I believe there are more secret Kookas than avowed Kookas, so this measure would punish those who honestly

I think that the Lt. Governor of the Punjab should be allowed to discharge all Kookas from the Punjab Police. These men being employed among their country-men, are perhaps actually among their co-religionists, aor a different posltion from the Kookas serving among the troops in other parts of the country.

Circulate—

The Financial Department must see. I do not know what is meant by such terms as may seem fitting ; they are very vague.

B.H.E. 31-3-72.

I agree generally, but I must ask that the Financial terms be first settled.

R.T.

DOCUMENT No. 56 (A)

Office Memo. No. 704, dated the 6th April 1872.

The undersigned is directed to forward to the Financial Department the papers noted in the margin, and to state that it is proposed to issue the draft letter with the concurrence of the department.

From Government
Punjab No. 111, dated
the 15th March,
draft reply.

2. The return of the papers is requested.

H. Wellesely,

Under Secy. to Govt. of India
To the Financial Department.

DOCUMENT No. 56 (B)

Office Memo. No. 2672, dated the 11th April 1872.

With reference to office memorandum from the Home Department No. 704, dated 6th instant, the undersigned is desired to state that there is no objection in this Department to the terms of the letter which it is proposed to address to the Punjab Government, regarding the dismissal of Kukas from the Police Department in those provinces. The draft and the other original paper are herewith returned, copies being kept.

R.B. CHAPMAN
Secy. to the Govt. of India,
Financial Department.

To the Home Department.

— — —

DOCUMENT No. 56 (B)

(Confidential)

No. 773, dated the 16th April, 1872.

From

E.C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.,
Secy. to the Government of India.

To

The Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

In reply to your letter No. 111, dated the 15th ultimo, I am directed to state that the Governor General in Council is pleased to authorize the dismissal of all Kukas serving in the Punjab Police and the Lieutenant-Governor is at liberty to act as may be considered necessary in regard to their gratuities, on condition that no higher terms are conceded than would be given, if they had been discharged, on reduction of their appointments.

— — —

DOCUMENT No. 56 (C)*No. 207, Dated Lahore, the 30th April, 1872.**From*

Lieut. Col. G. Hutchinson, C.S.I.,
Under Secy. to the Govt of the Punjab.

To

E.C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor to acknowledge receipt of your No. 773 of 16th instant regarding the dismissal of Kukas from the Police, and, with reference to the sanction therein given, to say that His Honor does not propose to act on it at present, as circumstances have materially changed but he is glad to have it by him should he consider such a procedure necessary.

No orders.

— — —

DOCUMENT No. 57

Kuka Chief Ram Singh.

*No. 921, dated Camp Amritsar, the 16th March 1872.**From*

L.H. Griffin, Esq.,
Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

To

E.C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

I am desired by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor to state that he has received intimation that Ram Singh and his friends keep up communication with the Punjab through two servants and a bunniah from whom they obtain supplies.

2. The information may not be accurate, but the Lieutenant-Governor considers that it should be brought to the notice of the Government of India, as some watch may be kept on the movements of the persons that have access to Ram Singh, and information of value may possibly be obtained.

Governor General's orders on the file

Kuka Chief Ram Singh

If care be taken valuable information may be obtained from the source indicated. The machinery of Ram Singh would still remain complete in many parts of the country.

Napier:
21-3-72.

DOCUMENT No. 58

Home Dptt. Proceedings, March, 1872.

Presentation of an Address by the Sikh Chiefs,
at a Durbar, expressing their hostility to the
Kukas and their tenets

Telegram dated the 22nd March, 1872

From

Government of Punjab, Amritsar.

To

Home Secretary, Calcutta.

At a durbar held at Amritsar to-day to commemorate the recovery of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, all the Chiefs of the Sikhs presented a spontaneous address expressing their hostility to the Kookas and their tenets, and heartily approving the measures of repression adopted by the Government.

DOCUMENT No. 58 (A)

The address of the Sikh Sardars at Amritsar. Speech read by Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia Amritsar on the part of a deputation of Sikh nobles and priests, appointed by the Sikhs of the city and district of Amritsar (The address in Urdu)

To,

The Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab : —

“We the undersigned Sikhs of all classes of Amritsar, beg unanimously submit that we have no connection or sympathy whatever with the Kuka Sect, which has recently become notorious. On the contrary we greatly differ from them on most religious principles. We are happy, that the government has adopted most appropriate and excellent measures for controlling this wicked and misguided sect, especially as the measures in question are calculated to deter ill-disposed people from committing mis-chief in future, and in the event of any member of this depraved sect committing crime to prevent suspicion falling on people of other sects, as happened in the Case of the murder of the butchers at Amritsar. Moreover the Kukas do not differ from us in religious principles only, but they may be said to be our mortal enemies. Since by their misconduct and evil designs, they injured our honour in the estimation of the government, and well-nigh levelled with the dust, the services performed in 1857, through which we were regarded as well-wishers and loyal subjects by the government. But as the proverb says. “Truth is invulnerable, the government has found out that we had no share in the proceeding of the sect. And regarding the sect, as our enemies, we are thankful to the government for the measures which have been adopted whereby the desires of our hearts have been fulfilled.

Signed.

— — —

- (1) Sardar Bakhshish Singh Sandhanwalia.
- (2) Sardar Bhagwan Singh.
- (3) Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia.
- (4) Sardar Jawahar Singh Zafarwal
- (5) Sardar Mangal Singh Ramgarhia (Manager of the affairs of the Darbar Sahib (Sikh National Temple).
- (6) Sardar Goolab Singh Bhagowalia.
- (7) Sardar Ajit Singh Attariwala.
- (8) Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia.
- (9) Bhai Golab Singh Mahant Ramgarh.
- (10) Golab Singh Akal Bunga.
- (11) Bhai Golab Singh (Bare Derewala)
- (12) Bhai Bhagat Singh Granthi.
- (13) Bhai Jassa Singh.
- (14) Bhai Hira Singh Granthi.

(B) The Reply made by the Governor.

Susupplement to the Punjab Gazette (*Page 483*).

dated May 16, 1872

“Certain misguided and desparate members of that new sect have been guilty of the most atrocious crimes. With the most cruel fanaticism they have murdered sleeping men, women and children. Under cover of night, in quest of plunder, they attacked the residence of a most respectable sikh chief, severely wounded his son and slew his servants. They attempted to seize the town of Malerkotla with the arms and treasure appertaining to that State. For years together during the toleration extended by the British to every form of Divine Worship, they have secretly plotted against it and under pretence of religious meetings have continued to hatch murder, rapine and treason.”

He praised these sikhs for coming out to condemn the action of the kookas.

Mangal Singh Ramgarhia was given a khilat at this very Darbar at Amritsar for organising this command performance of course (compiler).

DOCUMENT No. 59

No. 13, dated India Office, London, the 26th March, 1872.

From

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

To

The Government of India.

The despatches of Your Excellency's predecessor in Council dated 2nd February, Nos. 9 and 12 of 1872, relative to the outrages recently committed by bodies of Kukas at Malodh and Malair Kotlan in the Loodianah District of the Punjab, have been considered by me in Council.

2. I fully approve of the detention, 'under the provisions of Act III of 1818, of Gooroo Ram Singh and ten of His influential Soobahs.

3. I approve of the suspension of Mr. Cowan, the Deputy Commissioner of Loodinah, pending full enquiry into his conduct in summarily executing 49 Kuka insurgents. I shall await the result of that report and the opinion of your Government upon it.

No present orders.

EXTRACTS FROM CONTEMPRARY NEWSPAPERS**AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA***4th October, 1872**“Murder of Chief Justice Norman in Calcutta”*

Political Horizon : What is in the atmosphere ? Why this crusade against these judges, why the Barielly riots and the butcher murders in the Punjab ? The atmosphere seems surcharged with murderous intents, dark intrigues and sedition. Why was such a good and inoffensive man like the Chief Justice Norman murdered in cold blood, and in a manner as if to strike terror into the hearts of the Government Officers ? Why was Abdulla the assassin mute throughout, tho' every opportunity was given to him to speak and defend himself ? Does not this fact alone show that he has accomplices, or that he is merely a tool in the hands of others ? If a fanatic simply, he would have glorified in his deeds and attempted to perpetuate his name by giving full publicity to every particular regarding himself, and if actuated by revenge, and goaded to the foul act by private wrong he would have at least tried to extenuate his enormous guilt and enlist if not the sympathy at least the pity of his fellow creatures. But here is a murderer who neither denies nor confesses his guilt, he exults not like a fanatic, he blabs not like a penitent, he seeks no sympathy, no pity, he speaks not even to defend himself from death, and the idea naturally forces itself in the mind, that the man is afraid either to commit himself or his friends, accomplices, or employers. What motive could he have to slay the Chief Justice and no man but a mad man moves without a motive. If he has then a motive it is a secret one, one which if divulged would compromise others. The assassin moreover is a Mahomedan and probably a Wahabee, and who does not know that the sole object of the existence of the Wahabees is to plot mischief to infidels and infidel Governments ? That they have been preaching sedition to the English Government this half a century, that they have been organising themselves into a society and a military society have been most clearly proved. That they are a cautious, intriguing, bold, preresevering,

secret sect, that their movements are all secret, that their presence everywhere from Sittana to Furreedpore can never be suspected, there is now no particle of doubt. The Patna trials exasperated them, then came the trial of Ameerkhan which made so much noise in the world. Ameerkhan has been found by Mr. Prinsep to be a Wahabee and a most dangerous Wahabee and he was transported accordingly. This has no doubt added fuel to the fire. It was the lamented late Chief Justice Norman to whom was addressed the powerful appeal of Mr. Anstey on behalf of Ameerkhan, but he turned a deaf ear to all his arguments and according to the Wahabees sacrificed justice for the sake of Government and Lord Mayo. So Mr. Norman lost his life. The Wahabees a vindictive sect found in Abdulla a ready tool, and all the necessary qualities of an assassin, they found him bold, resolute and a zealous co-worker, promised him Paradise and the beautiful houries and Abdulla believed them and acted accordingly. He went to murder, then to die to go to Heaven and he had no necessity to be talkative or communicative.

THE ENGLISHMAN

Dated 17th January, 1872

We hear by telegraph that the Kuka followers of Guru Ram Singh have broken out in the Ludhiana District. They have attacked Malair Kotla. The Ambala brigade in camp at Delhi has been ordered to Ambala, and the 12th Bengal cavalry, the 72nd Highlanders and the 1st Gurkhas have already started.

THE ENGLISHMAN

Dated 24th January, 1872

We learnt from the Allahabad paper that Guru Ram Singh and several other Kuka prisoners arrived at that station on Friday last (19th January, and were confined in the Fort under a double guard).

THE ENGLISHMAN

January 25, 1872.

The Kuka Outbreak. (Indian Public Opinion.) : The following is a full and accurate account of the recent Kuka insurrection. To explain the allusions to places, and the route of the insurgent band, we publish with this issue a sketch map, the roughness of which, hastily prepared as it was in office this morning, our readers will readily excuse Map not found by the compiler.

About Friday last, the 12th instant, Ram Singh, head of the Kukas sent information to the Police at Ludhiana that a party of about 200 men, after attending the Lohri festival at his house, had gone off without his permission, with the avowed object of avenging the death of the Suba—Giani Singh—one of the Kukas hung at Ludhiana some time ago for his share in Raikote assault, and that he believed they intended to attack and take the town of Kotla. This news was at once, of course, sent on to Government and also to the Kotla authorities.

On Sunday, 14th at evening twilight, the party made an assault upon the house of Buddan Singh, the Sirdar of Malodh, which is about 22 miles south-east of Ludhiana. A small party came on a little advance of the rest and on reaching the gate of the enwalled town they cried, "Lo ; Ram Singh comes, make way, make way ?" and under this ruse they gained admission into the town and being at once followed by the remainder, made their way straight through it to the palace of the Chief, with the intricate passages of which their guide was evidently accurately acquainted, for they reached the distant and secluded chamber which he occupied without any delay or difficulty, cutting down the coachman and a munshi dead on the way. Fortunately the Chief was only slightly wounded, and by this time an alarm was raised throughout the town, and the people turned out and soon routed the rebels, who were shortly driven out leaving two dead and six prisoners, of whom one was a woman, and four were more or less wounded. The casualties on the Maloudh side were two killed, and eight or ten more or less slightly wounded. The chief object of the Kukas in attacking this place was probably to punish the Chief, who is a relative of the Maharajah of Patialah, for

his assistance in the Raikote affairs, and to obtain arms and money for their intended assault on Kotla, which State being at present without a head (the Nawab is a minor) they hoped to gain possession of. Both these objects were, however, frustrated, for they gained almost nothing by the diversion they made upon this place.

After leaving Maloudh the rebels proceeded towards Kotla and spent the night in an old garden about a mile and half from that town. At sun-rise next morning, that is, on the 15th they rushed into the enwalled town of Kotla and at once made for the palace of the late Nawab, around which are the chief public buildings, including the Treasury. Owing to the information they had previously received from the authorities they were in a great measure prepared; some very hard fighting, however, occurred and the rebels were at length driven out, with a loss of seven killed. They were afterwards followed by the Kotla troops, but they rapidly retreated towards the village of Rurr, in the territory of Puttiallah, and about eight coss south of Kotla. The loss on the Kotla side was altogether eight killed and about double that number more or less wounded.

The Kotla authorities at once sent intelligence to the Tehsildar of Sherepur, which is a few miles distant from Rurr, and also in the Puttiallah State; this officer lost no time in pursuing the rebels, and accompanied by a few armed men, he surprised them during the same day, and succeeded in capturing, with little or no resistance, about seventy of them, of whom nearly half were wounded—thus showing how severely they had been punished at Kotla.

These prisoners were brought into Kotla on the 17th, and forty-nine of them were shortly afterwards executed by the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police, who arrived there the previous day from Maloudh.

The forty-nine men executed were blown from guns in the presence of Mr. Cowan, the Deputy Commissioner. One of the Kukas rushed at him, but was immediately cut to pieces.

Of the rebel band a few were armed with swords, about double the number with Gundasas—a sort of broad axe—a few with sticks, and the remainder were empty-handed ; there were a few females amongst them and some children. Those who were not captured by the Sherepur Tehsildar at Rurr, dispersed to the neighbouring villages, it is said, but they have probably all, or nearly all, been since caught by the Puttiallah officials who continued to scour the country.

On the first intimation of the proposed outbreak the most efficient arrangements were made by the Government. Troops were at once moved towards Ludhiana and some Europeans arrived even on the 16th ; since that time more troops have been sent, and now the force is a considerable one, consisting of artillery, cavalry and infantry. The Commissioner of the Division is on the spot and every arrangement has been made for preserving the peace. Indeed, the measures which are being adopted throughout the province by the Government are of the most radical nature and such as to inspire the utmost confidence and a hope of immediate tranquility.

The most efficient measure being carried out by Government consists of very extensive arrests and deportations, of which we cannot say more at present.

As in the Raikote affair the Deputy Commissioner, the Superintendent of Police and Civil Surgeon were quickly on the move as soon as the news arrived from Maloudh. They arrived there early in the afternoon of the following day, and the next morning the Civil Surgeon started alone for Kotla, leaving the other two officers to complete their judicial proceedings at Maloudh, after which they followed on reaching Kotla the same day. After examining the killed and wounded they returned to Ludhiana.

Ram Singh and four other leading men have been seized and sent to Allahabad, and four others are now awaiting judgment. At Ludhiana a great number of troops are now gathered and though excitement still runs high, confidence is perfectly restored.

THE HINDU PATRIOT

29th January, 1872.

The Kooka Outbreak. In India we are sitting on a volcano and no one knows what a day may bring forth. This is the opinion of practical Englishmen in India, and while we fully admitted the dangers we hold that the remedy lies in the hands of our rulers. In the model province of the Punjab the feeling seems to be far from pleasant, and although we have always been of opinion that the gilded reports of the Punjab officers were not to be trusted on the good old maxim that all that glittered was not gold, the Govt. of India it would seem were apparently satisfied. But it has been rudely shaken in its pleasant dreams. This is not the time to examine the causes of the dissatisfaction, which seems to prevail in the Punjab; we consider it the duty of all, who are interested in the stability of the British power in the East to unite and put down with a strong hand any overt act of disaffection, leaving to calmer moments the consideration of the best means of allaying the discontent which may have seized the popular mind. The Kooka outbreak, which is the latest manifestation of this discontent, shews that the volcano in the Punjab is in a state of ferment. We take from the local journal the following particulars regarding it :—

(The same as given on pages 229 to 231 compiler)

Ram Singh and four other leading men have been seized and sent to Allahabad and four others are now awaiting judgment. At Ludhiana great number of troops are now gathered and though excitement still runs high, confidence is perfectly restored ?

The Mofussilite of the Punjab states that the Lieutenant Governor at Delhi Camp of Exercise, on receiving the telegrams from Mit Singh and the son of the Nawab of Kotla, requested the Maharajah of Puttiala, who was in Camp at the time, to go himself to the spot for the purpose of suppressing the afay.

His Highness the Maharaja accordingly arrived at Rajpore at 6 A. M. on the 16th, from whence he immediately despatched one Regiment of Infantry, one Battery of Artillery, and one Regiment of Cavalry under the command of General Eniatully, to Kotla, with orders to attack the Kookas, and if possible to make them prisoners, failing which he was to put them to the sword. The Rajas of Jheend, and Nabha received similar instructions from the Maharaja of Puttiala. After doing this, the Maharaja telegraphed to the Lieutenant Governor of what he had done. His Highness, we learn, has given instructions to apprehend all Kookas who may be found in his territories. Asserting to these facts the "*Friend of India*" justly remarks that "the principal features in this business is the help afforded by the native chiefs. They did the work, and did it so effectually that when the British troops arrived they had nothing to do but come home again. And yet there are people who tell us to go on an annexing. We think that the preservation of Native Rule is one of the great safeguards of British Rule ; and this fact goes for to prove that it is so." With respect to the blowing away of forty-nine men from guns in the presence of Mr. Cowan, the Deputy Commissioner, there will of course, says our contemporary be some enquiry. "There is, he continues, something not quite pleasant in the thought of forty-nine men being blown away in cold blood, any atrocities attached to them beyond the mere fact of a rebellion. This is a very different matter from the burning of stores by the Looshai Expeditionary Force and we hope that it will be very rigorously investigated and the reasons for it made public. We are aware that in dealing with the Kookas we are dealing with a fanatical sect, but we cannot afford to ourselves become savages. Strange to say not a voice has been raised or a line written, as far as we have seen, against this whole-sale military execution. Surely there must be some error as to forty-nine men shot down at once, after the suppression of the rebellion. If not then we say that Mr. Cowan will be called upon by public opinion to give some plain and straightforward account of the matter, and why he was present at the time of execution." There is sense of justice and responsibility in the foregoing, which we cannot too highly admire. It indicates the same spirit, which with promp-

titude the English press on receipt of the melancholy intelligence of the assassination of Chief Justice Norman, demanded in one voice that the trial of Ameer Khan, then under appeal should be conducted with utmost impartiality less it be for a moment supposed that the suspicion that the murderer was a Wahabi conspirator had tinged the current of British justice. Our contemporary in effect says that let justice be done, even if the Empire fall. Indeed, as Mr. Stephen said the other day, and which we have all along said, that justice was the rock on which the stability of the British Empire in the East rested, and come what may, we hope our rulers will never swerve from it. The Kooka danger in the Punjab may be grave, but the interests of justice are still more grave aye the gravest.

PIONEER

29th January 1872.

Want of communication :—"The Indian public Opinion" calls the attention of the public to the fact that there is neither telegraph nor Government Dak, between Ferozepore, the great Arsenal and Lahore, the capital of Punjab. This fact was very unpleasently brought home to both stations on Sunday last, when such alarming rumours of a general Kuka rising were afloat.

INDIAN STATESMAN

30, January 1872.

The Kukas. Hinduism, in most flourishing condition, is never at union with itself. It is always splitting up into parties. Four hundred years ago Nanak taught his platitudes. On his death Sikhism at once resolved itself into several parties, and this state of things has been chronic ever since. The last great sect which has arisen in the Punjab proper is the Kookas. The word means those who make a noise, from some peculiarity which existed in the beginning of the sect—in the act of initiation. Some time ago this not very pretty name was changed for one more sonorous and more full of meaning—*Namdais*, "bearers

of the name" (of God understood.) The founder of this sect, by name Ram Singh, was many years ago carpenter in the employ of the Ludhiana Mission. He was then esteemed "a hopeful character". He attended the divine service conducted by the missionaries, and seemed to be inclined very much to Christianity. After a while he began instructing his fellow Sikhs in the scraps of morality he had picked up. A desire to reform the whole Sikh community next possessed him. His own followers daily increased, and were instructed in a higher stage of morality than is at present attained by the Sikhs as a rule; for the prosperity of the Punjab of late years had done much towards ruining the little good that remained in the Sikh character, and there was undoubtedly room for improvement. Well, would it have been for Ram Singh and his followers had they been content with reformation on morals. But as his followers increased there came a desire to possess the temple at Amritsar known as the Durbar, a small but beautiful edifice built on an island in a tank. Added to this, was a desire to destroy tombs and all other objects of worship. In short the Kookas became the Wahabees of Sikhism. Seeing that moral persuasion was not found sufficiently coercive, Ram Singh and his followers resolved to use force. They determined at a great spring mela, to take Amritsar into their possession and rid the Durbar of its idle and profligate priests and appropriate the offerings of the faithful to the spread of their own peculiar tenets. Of course Government interfered, and although Ram Singh visited Amritsar with many of his followers and bathed in the sacred tank there according to custom, that was all that was done.

But the fire was smouldering, it was not extinguished. It burst out again in another direction. The zeal of the Kookas and their leader was kindled against the butchers, for the Sikhs are after all Hindus, and they have woven many of the old articles of Hindu faith into their own distinguishing doctrines. The Kookas taunted the Sikhs at Amritsar with their lukewarmness in the matter. For in truth the Sikhs there had allowed the butchers to establish themselves just outside the walls of the city of the Fountain of Immortality. In June last year an attack was made on this establishment. The attack

had been attempted four times previously, and was only successful on the fifth occasion when four men were hacked to pieces and three others frightfully wounded. Some time after that some butchers were killed at night in the Loudianah district at Raikote. The perpetrators of these fearful crimes were hung.

All along however, it has been felt that the movement meant more than just what has come to the surface. At the Anundpoor* fair of spring last, a great demonstration took place. The Kookas marched into the town in military order some 15,000 in number. They were headed by their soobahs or leaders to the number of three or four hundred mounted on horses. Nothing however happened to disturb the peace then, except that one fanatic seated himself in an English officer's tent and said the chair was theirs and the Government theirs (*Kursi sadi aur raj sadi*); and before a missionary's tent, another "gloriously-drunk" fellow danced and said the English raj was coming to an end.

It is well known in the Punjab that Ram Singh had organised daks, and that the whole of his followers were devoted to him and to their new creed. The disturbances at Amritsar and Raikote were carried out by turbulent spirits it is true, but nothing was done without his cognizance and sanction. Of this there was not the least doubt. And such being the case, the wonder is that he was not kept under stricter surveillance. Had he been removed to Calcutta, Singapore, or the Andamans we should not have had to chronicle the recent disturbances of which undoubtedly Ram Singh will prove to be the originator. The fort of Molloudh was attacked on the evening of the 14th. This fort is in the Ludhiana district and is the property of Sikh Jagirdar Bhudden Singh. This gentleman was wounded and two of his men were killed. The Kookas lost one man. Soon after that, five hundred Kookas attacked the Mahommadan town of Mulair Kotla which is close by Mulloudh. Their object simply seems to have been arms. They seem to have forgotten Delhi and its camp, and the whole district inhabited thickly by Kookas was at once deluged by the soldiers of the Delhi army. It is not yet known what steps the army will take, but there can

be no doubt that those steps ought to be such as shall lead to the extripation of the turbulent spirits who have been allowed so long their own way on the south of the Sutledge. Now that the Kookas have shown their true colours, Government has only one way open to it. Ram Singh must be removed, if not hanged. His followers, poor deluded creatures, will share his fate, as they have now shown themselves only a religious gang of murderers and revolutionists and must abide the consequences.

While this very disturbance was going on in the Loodiana district, the Sikhs at Amritsar were presenting Major Davies, the Commissioner, who lately sentenced the Kooka murderers to death, with a mark of their esteem on his leaving for England. There can be no doubt as to the loyalty of Umritsur. Its Sirdars so long as they are allowed to enjoy their revenues in peace will be loyal ; from its priests there is not much to fear, and the Sikh population of the whole Punjab may be esteemed loyal. If punishment swift and sure overtake the murderers and plotters of midnight attacks, the land of the five rivers will push forward in peace its aggression on the barrenness of its deserts, in spite of its lack of railway communications and the ignorance of its people.

THE ENGLISHMAN

31st January, 1872.

The arrest of Kuka Ram Singh—We have heard it asked why, if Ram Singh, Kuka Guru, did the Government the service of warning them of the late rising he was seized and sent off like a criminal to Allahabad. The reason, we believe, is that he did not make his report until it was superfluous—that is, until the rising had taken place.—*Pioneer*

*Eight years ago a Missionary, Mr. Janvier was killed at this fair, by Sikh Akalee. But the Sikhs at Amritsar to mark their abhorrence of the deed made a collection and presented the proceeds to the widow of Mr. Janvier.

THE ENGLISHMAN

31st January, 1872.

The Capture of Roor Singh—The following is related as the “modus operandi” followed in the capture of Subha Roor Singh, the most important of the Kuka Chiefs now in the Allahabad Fort. The delicate task was entrusted to Mr. Le Marchant, District Superintendent of Police. This officer, with ten armed constables, presented himself at the Subah’s house, and found the Kuka sitting in council with about twenty followers. A constable, was sent in, to summon out the great man; who hesitated for some time to comply. At last, however, he came to the door, and as soon as his head was visible, Mr. Le Merchant, who had hitherto kept himself out of sight, seized him by the nape of his neck and shot him forward into the road, where he was at once surrounded by the armed posse. The other Kukas rushed out to the rescue, but the line of musket barrels which confronted them induced them to falter, and finally to abandon their design. In another half-hour Roor Singh was being whirled away to Allahabad.

THE ENGLISHMAN

31st January, 1872.

The Kuka Outbreak—Latest news from the Ludhiana district states that all is quite and no further movements or demonstrations have been made. That troops collected are about to despatch to their proper stations. We have just heard the details of the Ferozepore alarm. At the Ludhiana Station it has been found that the Telegraph baboo went to sleep and failed to answer several urgent messages sent from Ferozepore. It was at once surmised at the latter station that the Kukas had cut wire. The police with their usual intelligence at the same time reported that a body of the rebels was marching on Ferozepore. Before leaving the Ferozepore alarm we should notice the attempt to get the garrison guns into working order. It is said that in the first place, there was no ammunition to be found for them when wanted, and in the next place, it was found that one of the embrasures was care-

fully masked by a cook house which a skilled Royal Engineer had recently erected, it is believed, for some strategic purpose in front of it. An express was sent to Lahore, which station Telegraphed the news to Delhi. In Ferozepore the troops were turned out, a rendezvous appointed, a signal of three guns to be the assembly. Husbands embraced their wives for the last time, dogs were seen walking about in an excited manner, several infants wept and one lady went up a chimney ; she has not been seen since.

At the execution of the Kukas of Maler Kotla an immense concourse of natives turned out to behold the terrible spectacle and we learn from native source that it had a most impressive effect on the whole population. 9 guns were placed in position of which 7 were reserved for the work of death, while two covered the parade. Six companies of infantry and four hundred cavalry guarded the ground. The spectators included the whole male population of Malair Kotla and the adjacent towns and villages besides many thousands of women. The sight they witnessed was one they will never think of but with awe.

When the story of this rising comes to be fully written out, we trust full justice will be done to the admirable conduct of the Patiala, Nabha and Jheend authorities. Special messengers were sent to them to ask their co-operation and their troops were on the disturbed frontier almost as soon as the civil officers. Within thirty minutes after the arrival of the summons to arms, guns, cavalry and infantry from these states were on their way to Malair Kotla, without baggage or tents, across a flooded country, and through drenching rain—*Indian Public Opinion*.

THE FRIEND OF INDIA

1st February, 1872

The Kooka Outbreak. We protest, without waiting for official documents, against the wholesale Military Execution ordered by Mr. Deputy Commissioner Cowan, or carried out in his presence Indian Public opinion says the former, but be the fact which of the two it may a in our view it deserves stern reprobation. The forty nine men are referred to as having been

taken red handed, which can scarcely be the fact, considering how comparatively few were killed and wounded, unless red handed means engaged in rebellion, in which case every man taken with arms was liable to be blown from a gun. We want to know, however, who authorised Mr. Cowan to shoot on the spot men already in his hands, and beyond hope of rescue. We hope that public opinion in India and England will demand and enforce an answer to this question. In the great Mutiny much was allowable, owing to the emergency of the danger, but that cannot be tolerated in an ordinary outbreak like this, even on that theory of the high hand which some people call strong government. It may be granted that in India we must be strong or quit the country ; but does anybody think that it is for the good of India or England that we should make ourselves strong by intimidating people by wholesale shootings down at the cannon mouth ? we do not, at all events ; and if the account given in India public Opinion is correct, and we see no reason to doubt its correctness, there will yet have to be a stern account rendered with respect to this matter.

It may be said—it has been said—that the sternness and severity of the punishment quelled the rebellion. But if so, still we deny the right to inflict the punishment one which it had been inflicted by Russia and Englishmen had known of it, would have been made to ring through the world. Has it indeed come to this, that in times of peace the outbreak of a fanatical sect, surrounded and hemmed in by irresistible power is to be treated as if the Empire itself was on the eve of disruption, as if women had been abused or some other exceptionally barbarous deeds committed ? Above all, are such things to be done by order of a Deputy Commissioner on his own responsibility : there was no fear of a rescue. The rebellion was anything but serious—it was quelled by our Native Allies before the queen's troops were on the spot. The whole affair was one of a few hours, and transpired in the neighbourhood of a camp of 15,000 men of all Arms. The story is one of the simplest imaginable. The Kookas, numbering from two to three hundred, including some women attacked the Maloadh Fort, held by a relative of the Maharaja of Patiala. The object was either to obtain arms or to revenge the opposition offered

by the holder of the fort in the mutinous affair at Raikot. Driven from Maloadh Fort the Mutineers rushed on Kotla, but showed their indecision by halting and encamping all night in a garden at some distance from the town. It is not by men like these that great enterprises are carried out. Long before morning Kotla was all alive, and news of out break was sent far and wide. The towns men repelled the assault ; the Patiala and Nabha men came on the scene ; the mutineers were hemmed in, shot down or captured. A strong British Force sufficient to scatter thousands upon thousands of such an enemy, was at hand. The leaders of the Kooka Sect were captured, or on the way to capture. The outbreak, desperate as it might at first have appeared had dwindled down to ludicrous proportions. Yet here it was that Mr. Cowan stepped in (If India opinion is correct) and ordered forty nine men to a most terrible death. If Mr. Cowan did not give the order he was equally palpable if he was present at the execution. An Officer of England has no business to be present in any such scene.

We were scarcely surprised to find in the (Englishman) the following words : We must deprecate alike the premature verdict of the "FRIEND OF INDIA" on the subject, and his comparison of the occasion with the indiscriminate destruction of the Looshai grain". We were not surprised, but we are utterly at a loss to know on what principle the Englishman has formed its opinion of the partial destruction of grain by the Looshai expeditionary force, and of the wholesale destruction of human life—not in battle, not from any fear of rescue but in cold blood by a British Deputy Commissioner. War is war, and you cannot help destroying property, and ought not in such a case as that of a Looshai Expedition ; and while war is going on you cannot help destroying life. But it is not the habit of brave soldiers, and it is not a rule of civilization, to shoot down forty-nine men in cold blood after the fight has ceased and with no fear of rescue, and with nothing to lay to the charge of the men, as far as appears, but the simple fact of a fanatical outbreak. The Englishman may "deprecate" as it pleases, but there will be nine out of 10 of all the Englishmen in India—civilised Englishmen we mean—who will say

that the destruction-partial destruction of grain during the Looshai Expedition was a necessary act of war, and that the destruction of these men blown from the cannon's mouth is an outrage on civilization. Let the official documents come when they may, there is nothing to justify British Deputy Commissioner in ordering or being present, at such an execution; and it will require some explanation stronger than anything within the range of namby-pambyism to justify the act. One of the duties of England in India is to make impression upon an Eastern Nation the Western view of the value of human life. In war, Western Nations are inexorable enough, but there is no civilized Western nation in which the life of the humblest individual is not as sacred before the law as the monarch's crown.

We are aware of the answer to all this. We shall be told that we must govern Eastern Nations according to Eastern Tradition and habits and we have broken that rule where it suited our purpose to break it. It ought to be our pride to break it, where it appears our interest—to do the contrary. The rebellion in this case of the Kookas is set to have been suppressed by severity of the Eastern kind. Far better that it had been suppressed by simple justice of the Western kind that the men had been brought to trial and had received their sentence, whatever it might have been, legally and after a full consideration of the facts of the case. Instead of that they are seized, imprisoned and shot in the name of British Law represented by a Civil Officer of the Queen. If the Indian Government accepts the responsibility of Mr. Cowan's act the Indian Government will have to answer for it before the Tribunal of public opinion at home. If the Indian Government does its duty it will call upon Mr. Cowan for the reasons and causes of his conduct. Admit that a Deputy Commissioner has right and is authorised by British public opinion to shoot man away from cannon's mouth, in any ordinary outrage and we carry back the civilization of England to days of savgery. We hold that if the Governor General himself had been on the spot it would have been at his peril—imminent peril—that he had given an order without the sanction of Civil Law for such an execution. Comparison with the Looshai Grain burning

indeed. There is no comparison. The two acts are not to be mentioned for any comparison whatever. The one will always exist while war exists. The other can never exist, save in imminent danger, without injuring the nation that does it.

FRIEND OF INDIA

February, 1872.

We suppose that we shall be by any amount of nonsense about the necessity of not fastening the hands of our officers entrusted with perilous duties, were want of nerve might endanger the empire. But we hold that it is want of nerve that leads to executions of this kind. The man of nerve prepares to face a danger rather than recklessly throw away one human life. The man whose nerve is deficient is the man always ready just to strike a fallen foe on the least suspicion of danger. At all events, as we were not with the "Englishman" in its attack upon brave soldiers for carrying out a simple rule of legitimate warfare, so neither are we in favour of the monstrous shooting down of unarmed prisoners after a miserable fanatical outbreak. If Mr. Cowan was not present at the execution the Government ought to contradict the rumour at once. If he was—and we fear there is no doubt that he was—quite satisfied that he has done a deed that will be historical, and that will lead to such an enquiry as will place the power of British Officer upon a new basis. The responsibility accepted by the heroes of the Great Munity had immortalised, and their names, but responsibility is accepted under penalties, and if a man marks a mistake he must enter for it where ever human life is concerned. We do not believe that such acts are necessary to the perpetuation of our sway in India. May, we believe that they are more dangerous to it than almost anything we can do. For if we cannot show that under our rule life is more precious and justice more certain we have very little to place us above the worst conquerors that India will have. Executive power and ability will not compensate for a departure from the rules of justice and moderation which it is the pride of all good governments to make the foundation stone of their rule. The Indian Government will at periods fail to make

full and searching enquiry into this Military Education. The grain we destroy we can restore at a little money cost ; the life we destroy we cannot restore. There is difference, and a perception of that difference is one of the lines between civilization and barbarism, and the more certainly we are on the one side or the other the more certainly are we on the side of barbarism or of civilisation.

THE ENGLISHMAN

10th February, 1872.

The Kuka Outbreak—We are informed that some two or three months ago the frontier officials received information to the effect that the Kukas were contemplating a general outbreak. Events have now proved that there was some truth in the rumour. We have not the least doubt that a most formidable rising was nipped in the bud.

Messrs. Forsyth and Cowan deserve the best thanks and admiration of the English community in India for that great moral courage which enabled them to take upon themselves the heavy responsibility of those forty-nine executions. Had such measures been adopted on the first signs of insurrection in 1857, as we said before, we should have been spared the horrors of that terrible mutiny. We believe that Government is fully aware of the fact that plans for a general rising of the Sikhs were being arranged. We venture to hope that Lord Mayo will strengthen the hands of district officers by endorsing the measures taken by Mr. Cowan. The natives of this country should be shown that Government will not deal leniently with traitors be they Sikhs or Mohamedans. *Delhi Gazette*

THE ENGLISHMAN

February 14, 1872

More about the Kookas.—Mr. Cowan, the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, has been called upon by Government to make a statement of the recent events in that district, and his reasons for the executions, which took place under his direction. As these must soon be published, we need not refer to them further than to express the expectation that they will meet with general approval.

Of the prisoners brought into Ludhiana for further examination four more were tried before the Commissioner, and sentenced (under the Extradition Act) to death. The Chief Court, however, directed that their sentence should be commuted to transportation for life.

On the 1st instant, 19 more of the fugitive rebels captured by the Putiala authorities were brought in to Ludhiana under a guard of Putiala troops. Instructions were given that the most careful examination was to be made into each man's case by the Deputy Commissioner before committal, so that there might be no mistake as to their having been members of the Kooka band which assaulted Maloudh and Malair Kotla. There was unfortunately no means of positively identifying them as having been seen in the attack unless some of them could be so identified by the Kookas already condemned. As might be expected, the 4 condemned Kookas made no sign of having identified any one of them, and after some further examination, the nineteen lucky fellows were released. Their names and addresses were taken, and they were then allowed to depart to their homes.

On the day Ram Singh was seized and deported, the police also seized about 150 Kookas at the village of Bhainee where he resided. It was noted those who saw the prisoners brought in that many of them were fine-looking old

men of that remarkably respectable appearance so often noticed in good Sikh families. It was found that they had come from various parts of the Punjab to be present at the Lohri fair or festival at Ram Singh's house. They were for the most part able to give a good account of themselves, and also sufficient security for their future good behaviour, and were, with the exception of about 20, permitted to depart for their homes. The remainder being unable to find satisfactory bail were sent to prison until further orders. One of these was the khazanchi or purveyor of Ram Singh himself. This man had charge of the treasury and granary and was not long in finding the required security, upon which he was released on the 3rd and returned to Bhainee. Although 'his occupation 'gone' for the present he is not likely to be lost sight of by the authorities, as it is rumoured that a large amount of treasure has been concealed somewhere near Ram Singh's house. Search has already been made for it; but without success. But the authorities were surprised to discover on the premises stock of grain so large as to be entitled 'enormous'. This was attached and taken charge of pending further orders. One of the consequence of the command of Government forbidding Ram Singh to attend fairs was that at the Lohri festival at his own house a much greater number of people flocked to it than on any previous occasion. It was not believed by the authorities that any serious outrage would take place, but all were on the alert. In native circles, however, the uneasiness which has long existed was more strongly felt. Kooka informers have declared that one of the dreams of the sect was to subvert the Government and set up a hierarchy and the idea was itself so ridiculous that it was believed no attempt even would be made for this end. But with fanatics nothing is too wild to attempt, and the natives at large firmly believed that some such attempt would sooner or later be made by the Kookas, who were continually spoken of as a seditious sect. As a natural result the summary execution of the captured rebels was spoken with much satisfaction in every native circle. At Loodiana, during the outbreak, much alarm prevailed. The Shikaries and fishermen did not dare to go to the jungles or the river and are only now beginning to return freely to their occupations. The deportation of Ram Singh will probably make

Kooka sect loose its unity. They themselves say that no one on the earth can keep the servant of God in confinement. If he remains in prison, they will doubt his sacred character, and will probably soon forget his great influence.—*Indian Public Opinion*.

THE ENGLISHMAN

15th February, 1872.

The Aurora Borealis, according to "Indian Public Opinion" seems to have caused some excitement among the Kukas at Raikot, the scene of the butcher-murders last summer. "About one hundred families" says our contemporary, "turned out in the most excited state and commenced those wild demonstrations from which their name Kuka is derived. The men tore off their turbans, unloosed their hair and began dancing and weaving their arms about, and shouting that this was a token that Ram Singh had returned to his home. They were much disappointed to learn that they were mistaken, but we trust the local authorities will keep an eye on these excitable gentry".

THE ENGLISHMAN

28th February, 1872.

The Hindus of Ambala have, according to the Mofussilite, complained of the conduct of the Muhammadan butchers in carrying beef slaughtered at the Cantonment shambles through the Sadar Bazar on their way to their shops, and Mr. Forsyth has been called on by the Punjab Government for an explanation. Are these Hindus going to follow in the steps of the Kukas ?

THE FRIENDS OF INDIA

8th February, 1872.

The Kuka Executions.—Pending an enquiry, which we had no doubt will be strict and immediate, we last week gave to a defence of Mr. Cowan a prominent position in our columns, and one of our daily contemporaries extracted that defence (a letter) without a word as to our own strong and unhesitating opinion in condemnation of the executions. We have no doubt it was a mishap, for the Indian Daily News is not in the habit of leading in this way to a misrepresentation of people's opinions. Still the subject will be none the worse for notice, we would not, for all the interests in India, have written a word or suffered a word to be written in our columns, in favour of Mr. Cowan's proceeding, without putting our own view in opposition to it on record. We publish to-day the letter of an old soldier, who need not fear his "ds" as far as we are concerned, and we hope the Recording Angel will be equally lenient, in this case, or any case, where a man has to speak out for humanity. We last week placed before our readers the leading facts of Mr. Cowan's dreadful order for execution of those 50 men in cold blood. Will our readers believe it that the entire band of 66 men and two women was so thoroughly hunted down, so entirely broken in spirit by want of food and other privations, that it was eventually captured by four men? All that we have seen in exculpation of Mr. Cowan has been of the vaguest possible character. There was a dream among the Kookas that the present year was destined to be one of great events. There was a fear that the mutiny would spread. There is a rumour that the Maharajah of Puttiala would not answer for the peace of the district unless the execution was carried out. In other words, there was a panic, and so a civil officer blew from guns in cold blood and after a most wretched outbreak, more men than were blown away at any single time and place during the Mutiny when the very foundations of empire seemed to be breaking up under our feet. And when Mr. Cowan had blown away to his heart's content, he received the sanction of Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner, for a trial of the remainder and this resulted in the execution of 16 more, two others being transported and ten spared.

Strictly speaking, Mr. Cowan by taking upon himself to endorse the executions broke the law. For though a Commissioner has that power of endorsement a Deputy Commissioner has not and we have every reason to believe that what Mr. Cowan did it on his own responsibility. We would reiterate the "ds" of "Havelock's Old Trooper"—we, too, would have been (Well, never mind what, but it would have been a solemn, serious and sacred oath) before we would have given such an order under such circumstances, and sent a lot of poor, ignorant, half starved and thoroughly terrified wretches, into eternity in that awful manner, which, if it ought to be adopted at all under any circumstances, should never be adopted save under circumstances so exceptional that the chances are that they never appear twice in a lifetime. Every fact that we have seen on the subject deepens our scorn and horror of the terrible deed. Do you call that government?—to leave vast bodies of men untaught, unguided, to grope their way into whatever fanaticism offers, and then shoot them down from the cannon's mouth, making a shambles of the place where the execution takes place, on the first blush of anything at all resembling rebellion? For the honour of the English name we protest against the atrocity and we hope sincerely that our countrymen will not let the matter rest till there has not merely been an enquiry, but a retribution that will not easily be forgotten in India. We do not wish at present to add more on the subject, especially since a Government enquiry has been set on foot, but we are satisfied that the news will make an impression in England such as has not been made by any Indian news for many a long day. If there is in us a spark of manhood, not to speak of Christianity, we shall probe this to the bottom. For our own part we can scarcely muster patience to think of the facts of the outbreak, and of what followed. There was a time, and within living memory too, when England was in at least as great danger of an outbreak as the Punjab was when this execution was carried out. But England was governed. There were men at every point to meet the danger when it arose, and in the worst of it there would not have been anything like an attempt to execute criminals at the will of a single man. The same thing has occurred in India frequently and has been met and the danger

overcome without an appeal to butchery. It is as much as our position in India is worth.—nay, it is as much as our position among civilized nations is worth, to pass over, or gloss over, or wink at, or condone this massacre. We are glad to see that Mr. Cowan has been suspended.

The Kuka Executions.—Dear Sir,—You observe in your paper about this Kooka massacre, “that it is strange that not a voice has been raised or a line written against this wholesale butchery”. Now Sir, I take up my pen with you in the cause of humanity, but I thought it would be as well to wait and see the opinions of the Indian press, and I confess I have not been much edified with the decisions most of them have arrived at of this bloody tragedy, (with the exception of yourself and the Times of India), a few samples of which as extracts I give. 1st.—The Pioneer, who says “in the meanwhile and pending full information, it is due to the high character of British Officers to assume that the case was so extreme as to warrant it.” The editor is an old hand and is very cautious. 2nd.—The Daily Examiner, says “The promptitude with which the authorities met the attempted rise prevented what might have been a serious difficulty,” and c. I hope he will show us this serious difficulty which required the immediate spot to be turned into a Butcher’s shamble. 3rd.—The Englishman, “looks upon the sympathy with the movement as most dangerous to their own Government (that is I presume their own Native Government) in which case it was right and just to blow away 65 human beings and that our authorities should give their sanction to the barbarity. 4th.—The Moffussilite, says “The prompt and terrible example of the rebels dispelled all visions of conquests,” “and the tranquility of the Punjab is not likely to be disturbed for some time to come”. Conquests ! what does the Editor mean and who were they to conquer ? They, the Kookas, certainly won’t trouble the Punjab if they are dealt with in such a summary mode. 5th.—The Times of India, says “It does not follow that this wholesale vengeance on disarmed men was by the order of the Commissioner.” Well it is to be hoped not. If it were, the dull and

lawless savagery of the act must detract from the credit accorded to him for his promptitude at first. 6th—Indian Daily News says, “Mr. Cowan only arrived in time to blow away 49, “after which I suppose he was fatigued and Mr. Forsyth took the game out of his hands and blew away 16 more which he omits to mention. The writer, however, has doubt about this little playful transaction, for he says that the violence of the measures has been called into question seeing that the insurrection was an insignificant one and had been completely suppressed before such measures were resorted to. 7th.—Indian Public Opinion says that “Mr. Cowan after very grave consideration (we will fancy him smoking a pipe just for imagination’s sake) condemned them to a terrible death. The effect on the country was magical, “etc. I don’t think any one will deny that it was. But that he acted rightly, like a wise and thoughtful officer, like a British Officer in times of peril ; that he acted as we should expect every Englishman to act, etc.—Well I may say with my Uncle Toby. I am d—d if I should have acted like that at all although I am an English. I hope you will be the Recording Angel on this occasion and drop a tear on these two wickeds. Now for the 8th and last, Friend of India. Your remarks are rather satirical ; you say there will of course some inquiry as it is not quite pleasant to think of 49 human beings blown away, (add 16 to that if you please which Mr. Forsyth caused to be polished off and which you seem to have forgotten). These are some of the opinions I have quoted from the Indian Press, some actually excusing this atrocious deed. There is no doubt it was a savage and murderous attack of the Kookas upon Mulair Kotla, but the ends of justice would have been sufficiently served if some of the leaders had been summarily dealt with as an example to the rest. It would have given Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth ample scope to display their promptitude, energy, determination and so forth, as the papers phrase it, without using such horrible extreme measures. I have myself been an unwilling witness of seeing three men blown away by guns, but this was in the mutiny, and as you justly observe it was not at all pleasant. I recollect the severe criticisms of the English Press with reference to the French General in the war in Algier, in which a great number of Arabs were suffocated by smoke,

who had taken refuge in caves and more recently the savage acts of the Commune ; but these all occurred in times of rapine and violence, and it has been left to our Politicians to enact the same in cold blood during a time of profound peace. With 60,000 British troops armed with the Sniper and all the forts, arsenals and artillery in our possession, are we to shake in our shoes and tremble at a miserable tribe of Kookas, that we should so mercilessly punish ? I need not say in '57 it was quite the reverse ; a handful of Europeans armed with the old musket, with the exception of the Madras Fusiliers under the gallant old Neil, with forts, arsenals and artillery in the possession of a Native army nearly twice as numerous as the present ; and if it had not been for the China force which by God's good providence timely arrived, India would have been lost. It strikes me, being an old hand, that the European Public now a days are rather given to panics. Witness that foolish one at Meerut two years ago, another foolish affair at Allahabad about a N.I. Corps stationed here and lastly this ruthless affair, an action worthy of a Caligula, instead of the rule of a mild and Christian Government. In conclusion Mr. Editor I most earnestly unite with you and others who think with you in the press, that such awful fantastic tricks may be rigorously investigated, for recollect the 'Press in the words of Junius is the palladium of all the civil rights and liberties of an Englishman.'

I remain, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Allahabad, 30th January, 1872.

Havelock's Trooper.

The Kuka Execution. We publish on another page an article headed "Narrative of the Kooka Outbreak," and evidently intended as a defence of the execution of fifty men by Mr. Cowan without the law, and of sixteen by Mr.

Forsyth with the law. Our readers will observe that the entire defence consists of pure generalities large crowds of men assembling, the month of March looked forward to as a month of rising, &c. It will also be observed that in spite of all these mighty rumours the mutineers, acting without their chief, were captured before a British soldier was on the scene. It will be observed, also, that although the account states that a large number of Kookas were ready to support the 300 who are referred to as a kind of advanced guard of a general movement, no help whatever was given to them. Indeed, it is evident that with the exception of these three hundred no preparation was made for mutiny, and the Native rulers appear to have had no difficulty whatever in suppressing the rebellion. The narrative is written with considerable skill, and at all the points where there is a grave fact against the course of action adopted by Mr. Cowan, it is followed by a few lines about the imminency of the peril, the extreme danger, the rumours, and the rest of it. We are also informed, once more that there could be no doubt of the criminality of these 50 men, since they were taken red-handed and confessed to having taken part in the two attacks. We shall believe that when we see proof of it ; not before. It is very easy to say that 50 men confessed to having taken part in the two attacks, but it is the habit of Englishmen to make some proper record of such a confession and above all to act according to law, as Mr. Cowan did not, even by the admission in this report.

Granting, however, that the 50 men did confess to having been present in the two attacks, were they because of that to be blown from guns on the sanction of an officer who had no legal authorisation to so act ? Does it follow that every outbreak that occurs in such a scale as this ? We change, however, to have another account of what took place at that time, and we believe, that we can rely upon it. On the 14th January, Ram Singh, the Guroo of the Kookas, called, it is said, upon Mr. Cowan and informed him that a body of Kookas, who had come to Mouza Bhainee to celebrate a festival had renounced his authority and gone off somewhere, evidently intending to create a disturbance. Now this, if correct, goes a long way towards proving that Ram Singh had no intention of support-

ing these men, and though we have no doubt that the ready reply will be that he would have taken advantages of their success, there is nothing in that reply that has any right to weigh in our consideration of such a matter. Is it a fact that Ram Singh made this statement? We are informed that on the morning of Monday, January 15th, Mr. Cowan sent two telegrams, one to Umballa and the other to Jullundur for Military aid. Next day he withdrew his demand for Military aid, the rebellion being suppressed. The entire band of Kookas was surrounded, dispirited and utterly broken down. The band had been repulsed at Malod by a very few people, and was entirely crushed by the attack on Malair Kotla.

Our readers will observe in the altogether one-sided narrative which we take from Indian Public Opinion (and a wretched half sanctimonious and altogether brutal article followed some days later) that although Mr. Cowan considered the mutiny so dangerous that it justified him—with the telegraph at his command so that application to a higher authority was the easiest thing imaginable—to blow away 50 men without trial, that he nevertheless had no use for the British troops on their way to his assistance. Does anybody believe that if the danger had been anything like what it is now represented to have been, that it would have been suppressed in a day, and that with large bodies of men, here and there, and everywhere, ready to be without British troops and to trust to our Native allies? This believed by some we do not believe it. Attempts have been made to induce the public to believe that the outbreak was the beginning of a great crisis, and that Mr. Cowan in acting on his responsibility took a position similar to that taken by some of the heroes of the Mutiny. But it will be patent to everyone, who carefully and candidly considers the subject, that there is nothing in common between the two cases. Mr. Cowan was no "isolated Englishman" he was in the neighbourhood of a splendid force of British troops, and a few hours would have sufficed to procure for him the authority he needed to bring the men to trial. He never tried them at all; he simply blew to atoms.

What cause was there, what justification was there, for an officer acting in such a case as this on his own responsibility? Does any one imagine that Parliament would ever intend to authorise a Deputy Commissioner to use such an awful power as was used by Mr. Cowan? We are quite satisfied that there would be no such intention. There are exceedingly able men among the civil officers of India, but in such a large body there must be some who not only are not able, but who would be altogether incompetent to decide, with judgment and justice, in such a tremendous matter. We are aware that a great many people look upon the lives of men like these as of no account, but if we take that ground we shall sooner or later have to pay for it a bitter penalty. We have been told that our view is the view of Exeter Hall and that we do not understand the matter; and so on. We think we can scarcely be charged with an undue leaning to what is understood as Exeter Hall, but we do not care where the view is maintained or where it is not maintained; we shall hold to it till we see some sound reason for taking a different view; and Exeter Hall has before today taken its stand, now and then for interests dearer to humanity than all the interests involved in favour of acts like Mr. Cowan's. The sixteen men who were afterwards executed by Mr. Forsyth appear to have had trial, and therefore this execution was legal, and all that we can say is that legal or not legal we would not have had the responsibility of blowing that number of men from the cannon's mouth after Mr. Cowan's illegal proceeding. We are asked if it is not cruelty to Mr. Cowan to place him in such a position, and then condemn him for acting on his responsibility. Cruelty! Is it not a burlesque to use the word in reference to an officer who used his responsibility so fearfully? We would be among the first to defend a proper use of responsibility; but—Good Heavens!—are we, because an officer is placed in a position of responsibility, to defend him whatever he does? That is what the reasoning comes to, and that is what must be stopped. The action of Mr. Forsyth in arresting the leading rebels deserves high praise. That is the kind of responsibility that has a great moral effect on the country, and the effect would not have been lessened if a few of the leaders of the band actually engaged in hostilities had been executed. But—after trial, not before it.

We believe that our readers have now before them in the narrative that we reprint, about as favourable an account as can be made out in defence of Mr. Cowan's course of action, and we can only say that to our view it is no defence at all. A great deal has been said about the peculiarity of India, and especially of the Punjab. We have scarcely patience to read such arguments. Right and wrong are the same in India as in England. The people of India can comprehend a stern repression of disorder, followed by strict justice, but this act, not committed in a great mutiny; not in an extremity of peril, but after a miserable dacoity expedition, will rankle in the minds of millions. There never was a time in the history of England in India when it behoved Englishmen more clearly to stand upon just and equitable principles. There is a feeling of unrest of an altogether unusual kind running through the country, and nobody in authority can be too prompt and vigorous in suppressing the first appearance of mutiny. An officer who acts upon his own responsibility in doing that will never lack support. But this is different. We hold that it was an error in policy, that it was not government, but misgovernment, that it was not strength, but weakness, not nerve, but the want of nerve, and that it may yet turn out one of the most fatal acts of our history in India. We suppose it would be altogether absurd for us to even think of still less mention, the fact that 66 men represent a good many families. That, of course, is all nonsense. Who cares about a Punjab family! No, we shall not mention that subject—it would be "sentiment" you know, and sentiment will never do in India. We dare say that the wives and children of the men executed rather enjoyed the thing, and will remember it with gratitude till they, too, are blown away from guns in some future time. Who cares! Well, there is one thing we hope. We sincerely hope that the majesty of England will be vindicated in this matter. We hope that there will be such a decision put on record that it will endure into far off times and be the heirloom of a wiser, happier and more contented people than we know anything of at present in India. We do not know Mr. Cowan nor anything about him beyond this one act, but the act we do know and it is one that a child may understand and that all the reasoning in the world will not make into anything other than it is.

The Kooka Massacres. Sir,—All educated men, not utterly decivilised by residence in the east, must feel grateful to you for your denunciation of the Kooka massacres. One of the most painful features in connection with this subject is the attitude of a portion of the Indian press in relation to it. It is sufficiently deplorable that British officers should have perpetrated such inexcusable butcheries. It is sufficiently deplorable that a great part of Anglo-Indian Society should be found to approve such needs ; but it is inexpressibly sad that no small part of the Indian Press should be so ignorant or so brutalised as to bring to the proportions the features of these occurrences ; and should either warmly commend, or apathetically disregard, a deed of blood disgraceful to the British name, and which will be viewed with reprobation by the civilised world in all time.

All right-minded men must concur with you. Nothing known or conceivable could justify the more than Chinese barbarity of the misguided officers who perpetrated these massacres. Nothing could surpass that barbarity and ignorances but the culpable barbarity and ignorance of its approvers ; and if the society, the press, or the Government of India, should have in truth sunk so low as to approve or do not, or attempt to hush up, such deeds, it is earnestly to be hoped that the English Nation will put them right.

The whole thing, the deed itself, its reception by Indian Society, its treatment by a section of the Indian Press, and, I must add, the ominous silence of Government in regard to it, is deplorable in the last degree, and reveals a degraded standard of education and morality which it is deeply painful to contemplate.

Yours &c. &c.,

INDIAN STATESMAN

12th March, 1872.

An Amritsar correspondent of the "Indian Statesman" says "The Kukas say that the death of Lord Mayo was caused by their Guru Ram Singh". It was a miracle of his ! They say the same of the Murder of Justice Norman. The two murders they say were in revenge of the hanging of the Raikote murderers and the execution of the Kotlah rebels. They say also that the aurora was the blood of their brethren calling for vengeance from heaven. I mention this just to show the vagaries of a faith which is trying all it can to revive the maxims and practices of Gooroo Govind Singh, who turned Sikhism into a martial confederacy. There can be no doubt that the aim of the Kookas is the restoration of the Khalas to its pristine power and actively as a military organisation. Let those who don't know what this means read up the History of the Sikhs, and they will see what we have escaped from by the suppression of the Kooka insurrection. I may state that I do not mention this in defence of Mr. Cowan. I do not know that gentleman and have never seen him even but I do happen to know something about the swaying to and fro of the Punjab public, and I cannot help thinking that it would be wiser if people would, before condemning Mr. Cowan, ascertain the whole facts of the case. The mere fact of the Punjab Government supporting that gentleman should go a long way with people who are far away from the province. For my own part, though I pity the poor Kookas who were executed, I really do not see how Mr. Cowan could have acted other than as he did. I have pitied them along but pity is wasted on fanatics.

THE ENGLISHMAN

14th March, 1872.

Ram Singh, the Kooka chief arrived in Calcutta as a state prisoner on Monday evening and was immediately sent on to Rangoon. He was brought to Howrah with a servant, in charge of a European Police Officer and some native constables. He is a tall man over six feet in height, and seem to

be very old. His hair, beard, mustaches and whiskers are grey. We hope he will be carefully looked after and kept in Rangoon.

THE LATE MOVEMENT OF TROOPS IN THE PUNJAB

Delhi Gazette 15th March, 1872.

A correspondent of the "Delhi Gazette" says : it is quite true the 14th Native Infantry (Brasyer's Sikhs) now here, are ordered off sharp to Rawalpindhi, being composed largely of Sikhs who come from Ambala, Ludhiana, and Ferozapore, and "Pandy" Regiment, the 7th comes here from Lucknow on the 8th inst. The excuse put forward in the "Pioneer" of the 4th May, be true, that the 14th N.I. leave this because they are wanted to take the "place of the Pioneers" ordered upto to make the Murree Road. Let people believe this is they like if it was really the reason, why this sudden order, requiring the 14th to leave Jullander, on the 18th, just as every officer had settled down comfortably, some having been put to much expense in furnishing their houses, etc. If it was known one month ago that they were required at Rawalpindie, surely they would have received their marching order from Delhi, when the camp broke-up, not after their return here from Delhi.

No, no, the "Pioneer", as usual, is misleading the public. The real truth is that (1) a Nayak of the 14th N.I. was arrested by one of the Guard at Philor Fort, for communicating with a supposed Kooka Fakir, who has since been discovered, and this at the very time of raid on Mallair-Kotla, and (2) It is well-known that Brasyer's Sikhs chiefly come from the Kooka district, and it is considered, rightly so that it would be the height of folly to have any Sikh Regiment quartered just at present at Loodiana, where there are no English troops.

DELHI GAZETTE

Dated, 16th March, 1872.

The Rajah of Jhind—The Times of India agrees with us looking upon the rumours relative to the Rajah of Jhind as libels upon that Chief. On the subject of His Highness' behaviour during the Kuka disturbance, our contemporary tells a curious story. When the Jhind contingent came back from Kotla, the Raja mustered his army, singled out the principal Kukas in his service, made them recant their heresy, and sent them off to bathe and be re-baptized as good Sikhs in the sacred pool of Amritsar. The Jhind Kookas, however, returned, unwashed to their master, as the British authority considered the act one of religious persecution—*Pioneer*.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE ENGLISHMAN, CALCUTTA

March 18, 1872.

Mahomedans, Hindoos and Wahabees. (Times).—Recent events have brought only too prominently into notice the plots and proceedings of two rival sects in the population of India—the Wahabees and Kookas. We think it would now be fair to the former to acquit them of complicity in the murder of Lord Mayo. The account given of the assassin in our correspondence last week, and since then officially confirmed at all points, leaves scarcely a doubt about the motives which prompted the deed. Even the circumstances themselves, too, will be found to militate, if carefully considered, against the presumption of a political conspiracy. If the Wahabees had conspired to murder the Governor-General of India the last spot selected for the commission of the crime would have been expected to visit. That there are Wahabees among the convicts at the Andamans may be true, but there are many more in Bengal enjoying a freedom of action not possessed by prisoners under sentence. It is, in short, both improbable that the crime, under the actual conditions of its perpetration, should have been the result of

personal exasperation. Dismissing this point, however for the moment, we wish to observe that the two movements now arresting our attention actually originated in a country beyond our dominions and in events over which we had no control.

Most readers have learnt by this time that, whereas the Mahomedans were for centuries the ruling race in India, the Wahabees represent a sect of revivalists presumably bent upon re-establishing the Mahomedan power. Similarly, the Kookas are sect of Hindoo revivalists, and they, too, make religion an instrument for the restoration of a lost political ascendancy. The truth is, however, that one of these sects may be said to have called the other into being. In the year 1824 the first preacher of Wahabeeism in India began to collect a military following in the regions where the fanatics of Sittana were attacked the other day by the British troops—that is to say, on the frontiers of the Punjab. At that time no Englishman dreamt of the annexation of that distant province to the British dominions. It was the kingdom of Runjeet Singh, a powerful and warlike prince, who was regarded by our authorities with some uneasiness. He was supposed to be the ruler of the Sikhs, but the Sikhs were not so much a nation as a religious community. They had been recruited from various Hindoo sects, and in the course of four centuries had consolidated themselves into a political power. Now when the Wahabee preacher or prophet pitched his tent among the Mussulman tribes of the hills, and gradually collected a military force, the natural objects of his animosity were the Sikhs. They represented the most pretentious professors of the rival religion, they were especially hateful to true believers, and, besides all this, their rich towns and cultivated settlements displayed a tempting prize at the feet of the mountaineers. A series of raids, therefore, was from the hills into the plains, and the Wahabees became the deadly enemies of the Sikh people. We call attention to these facts for two reasons. They will be employed presently to explain the outbreak of the Kookas, but they also explain what might be otherwise incomprehensible, the difficulties of the Umbeyla campaign a few years ago. Certainly, it may well seem

extraordinary that we being the rulers of India, should be exposed to attacks of a small band of fanatics on our borders, but the fact is that Runjeet Singh, in the plenitude of his power, was just as sorely tried by these people as we were. He could dispose of powerful armies, he exerted his power with very little scruple and yet such were the advantages of position and support enjoyed by the Wahabees that they survived his attacks to trouble us in our turn. The very prince whose successors made head against our arms, and were only subdued after sanguinary campaigns, found himself unable to extirpate this horde of fanatics, so that the incompleteness of our own success may readily be excused.

Some twenty years ago, however, the Punjab became a British province, and though the Mussulman outlaws over the border were in no wise conciliated. The Mahomedans of the province itself were relieved from the disabilities attaching to their religion. The Sikhs, as we have said, were reformed Hindoos practising the rites and observing the rules of the original faith with exceptional devotion. They would not allow cow-killing or any such offence, and to their behests as the dominant race the Mahomedans were compelled to submit. But we removed all these restrictions and within limits dictated by political prudence we gave Mahomedans their liberty. It was this policy, wise and justifiable in itself, which called our new enemies, the Kookas, into being. The Sikhs resented the loss of their religious ascendancy, and a scheme for the invigoration or revival of Sikhism itself presently arose. Its history has been admirably sketched by two correspondents in our columns. For a time the movement was, perhaps, purely religious, but like all such movements in the East, it soon acquired a political complexion, and at length, a few months since, the Kookas made an onslaught on the Mahomedan butchers of a town in the Punjab. In this, at first sight, irrational riot there was really a meaning. The vengeance on cow-killers, offenders against Hindoo tradition. The vengeance thus taken on them for the offence would express the principle of the Kooka faith, and might rally to the standard of the sect a large number of the Sikhs of the Punjab. It was a bid for popular support, a blow for political power, and the authorities

were alive to the exigencies of the case. The rioters were punished for the murders only, but they were punished without mercy. Then, after the lapse of a few months, followed the Kooka insurrection, an attempt, apparently, of a few hundreds of these men to possess themselves of arms by surprising the fort of a native prince, with what ulterior objects we must wait to learn.

It will thus be seen that the Mahomedan revivalists of fifty years since and the Hindoo revivalists of ten years since, being deadly enemies of each other, are nevertheless, equally enemies of the British power, as the power which, after defeating equally each religion in turn from its exclusive ascendancy, now keeps the peace between the rival communions. If we had not admitted Hindoos to the places once monopolised by Mahomedans, there might have been no active Wahabeeism in India, or, at any rate, not in Bengal. If we had not liberated the Mahomedans, from Hindoo oppression in the Punjab, there would have been no motive for a Kooka revival, or, at least for a Kooka rebellion; but we have to deal with a people who cannot understand tolerance, and who resent the proclamation of religions equally. In all cases, too a political element enters, however irrationally, into these discontents. Of the two sects before us, it may be hard to say which appears to be numerically the more insignificant. The Wahabees, so far as we know, can be counted by hundreds, though in their mountain camps beyond Peshawur they are really strong. The Kookas are more numerous, though nobody knows the real strength of the communion. Neither sect, however, could, according to our notions of reasons, hope for even a partial success against the British arms, while it is obvious that their respective aims are utterly irreconcilable. Nevertheless, we have probably not heard the last of either. Judging by the tenure of the latest intelligence, we should not connect the lamentable assassination of Lord Mayo with these or any other conspiracies, but it is clear that in India we have to reckon with a spirit which cannot be appeased by good or able administration and which, though it may directly animate only a small number of sectaries, may at any time create disturbance among such a population as is committed to our charge.

The echoe of Kuka Massacre in the British Parliament

The Bombay Gazette's London Correspondent writes.

Mr. Grant Duff was brought to book in rather an amusing way last night by Mr. Haviland Burke, who asked whether the 50 Kookas said to have been blown from guns by Mr. Cowan were so executed, and whether Mr. Forsyth executed 16 more, and, if so, whether there was any Court or tribunal for the trial of the 66 men so executed, and what was the finding of such Court or tribunal, and whether previously to such execution any communications were made to the Governor General and what reply that functionary gave. All this had so direct a bearing upon the points discussed in the Tonk case that the object of the question was obvious. Mr. Grant Duff had of course nothing to say : so he had to shuffle out of the course he was thrust into as best he could. As to the alleged executions he regretted to have to answer the question in the affirmative. As to the answer the question in the affirmative. As to the other part of the question, Mr. Forsyth's proceedings were not irregular (to which there were cries of Oh . Oh !—as to whether they were justifiable or not, he would not express an opinion at present. Mr. Haviland Burke then returned to the charge, and said the Hon. gentle man had not answered his question whether there was any Court or tribunal to try these men. To which Mr. Grant Duff, with a clumsy attempt at a double shuffle, replies “As far as he had any information, Mr. Forsyth's proceedings-on which he did not express an opinion-were not so far as he knew in any way illegal.” To this there were again cries of Oh ! oh ! Again Mr. Haviland Burke came to the charge. He said he was still unable to comprehend the answer of the Hon. gentleman. He asked if there was any trial previous to the execution. Man, Grant Duff was fairly beaten and forced to reply what he might have said at first, and spared himself the humiliation of being forced to speak the plain truth after all this miserable quibbling. He said there was no trial of any sort or kind so far as he knew. (Oh ! oh !)

HOUSE OF COMMONS

March 1

The Kuka Insurrection. Mr. Haviland-Burke asked the Under Secretary of State for India whether Deputy Commissioner Cowan did, as stated in *The Times* of the 5th of February, and after the complete suppression of Kooka mutiny, select 50 men out of the number of prisoners to be executed by being blown from guns; whether such 50 men were so executed; whether Mr. Forsyth, the commissioner at Umballa, caused 16 other men connected with the same mutiny to be executed; and, if so, whether there was any Court or tribunal for the trial of the said 66 men, and what was the finding of such court or tribunal, whether, previously to such executions, any communications were made by the officers above-named to the then Governor General of India, and what reply, if any, was received from His Excellency; and whether he had any objection to lay upon the table of the House all papers or correspondence relating to the Kooka mutiny.

Sir D. Wedderburn also asked whether the Government intended to institute any special enquiry into the circumstances connected with the Kuka insurrection.

Mr. Grant Duff.—My reply to the Hon. gentleman's first question must be, I deeply regret to say, in the affirmative.

My reply to his second question must be that the number was 49, the 50th having been cut down in self-defence by an officer of a native State. My reply to the first part of the third question must also, I regret to say, be in the affirmative. As to the second part of it, I have not seen the finding of the Court, but I believe that Mr. Forsyth's proceedings, whether justifiable or not—as to which I give no opinion—were not on the face of them irregular. My reply to the fourth question must be that, previous to the executions, there seem to have been no communication about the executions with the late Viceroy. When, on the 19th of January, he received the intelligence of what had been done, he telegraphed to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, "Stop any summary execution

of Kookas without your express orders". (hear, hear.) As to the fifth question, there will be no objection whatever to lay the papers on the table when they are complete. At present they are so imperfect as to add little or nothing to what Hon. members know already. In reply to my Hon. friend (Sir D. Weddenburn) I have to say that a special inquiry has been instituted on the spot, and the Secretary of State in Council has informed the Government of India that he awaits with anxiety the report of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Haviland-Burke said the Hon. gentleman had not told the House whether any Court or tribunal had been held for the trial of the 66 men before they were executed.

Mr. Grant Duff.—I thought this might have been inferred from my statement that, so far as I have any information, Mr. Forsyth's proceedings were in proper form and were in no way irregular.

Mr. Haviland-Burke was still unable to understand whether there was any trial before the execution of these men.

Mr. Grant Duff.—My answer related to the proceedings of Mr. Forsyth. So far as we are aware, there was no trial of any sort by Mr. Cowan; he executed without trial.

THE FRIEND OF INDIA

March 21 1872

The Kuka Execution. The executions came upon the country so slowly that for some time their real character was not seen; and to this day the public know nothing really of what transpired when that spot of ground in the Punjab was turned into a shamble. We purpose this week to lay before our readers a recapitulation of the arguments that have been put forward on behalf of the executions, and the arguments on which we base our firm assertion that the executions were bad in policy as well as humanity, and were an error so great that the man who committed the error ought not again to be placed in charge of human lives, or great state interest.

The only arguments—the only show of arguments—ever put forward for the executions are these—

1st. That it was necessary to strike a swift and sharp blow.

2ndly. That if General Hewitt had so acted at Meeruth there would have been no mutiny.

3rd. That Mr. Cowan is supported by the Punjab Officials.—This we hope is a pure misstatement.

4thly. That if Mr. Cowan had not taken the law into his own hands the prisoners could not have been convicted—an argument used by an Englishman, an officer of the Queen, shielded under a fictitious signature, and under that guilty of more braggart assertion and venom (why, goodness only knows, we do not) than we have seen from pen of penny-a-liner for many a day. However, abuse is not argument, never tells in the long run, and will not tell here in favour of these executions, or divert us from the duty we have undertaken to keep the facts—the bare, telling facts—before the public. Let us pass to the first of these arguments.

“It was necessary to strike a sharp and swift blow.”

Well, that blow had been struck. The mutineers had been hunted down, by native troops and before a British soldier was on the ground.

Next, Mr. Forsyth was only fifteen miles distant and had power of life and death.

Next, Mr. Cowan had no power of life and death.

Next, there was no fear of a rescue. The “thousands” of Kookas who are alleged to have been coming up dispersed on the day previous to the executions.

Next, Mr. Forsyth tried to stop the executions—for the trial.

Next, Mr. Cowan himself before the executions counter-named his request for troops—the outbreak was at an end.

Next, we have good reason to believe that even the original number of mutineers was overstated, and that instead of 300 there were not 150. We know not this for certain, but we believe it. In any case the danger was over. What was not over was the opportunity afforded to strike a sharp and swift blow, outside the pale of the law, lest it might prove impossible to strike such a blow within the pale of the law. Now supposing that General Hewitt had struck at Meerut, as we think he ought, who should have been his victim? Men in a military mutiny. Not civilians, mind, and prisoners without chance of rescue, but soldiers in revolt. It is possible that any human being fail to see the difference between what General Hewitt might have done and what Mr. Cowan did? Moreover, General Hewitt had full power to use extreme measures in the face of a mutiny, and if Mr. Cowan had been acting in a like mutiny, or indeed against men in any way in the field, the country would have been with him.

There are times when it is heroic to break the law. But we deny that in this case there is any trace of such a time, or emergency. We deny that there was anything like such an emergency. If rescue had been attempted then there would have been a full justification. If a woman or child had been abused by the mutineers then there would have been an excuse. Cowan had been at so great a distance from his official superior that prompt communication was impossible, and if the Indian Government could not have been communicated with, by telegraph, then there would have been strong arguments in favour of an officer taking the law into his own hands. But look at the case.

1st. There was no danger of rescue. Mr. Cowan had announced the outbreak at an end; the troops from Delhi were stopped on their way. The executions were a day later than this.

2nd. Mr. Cowan in order to carry out the executions had to assume an authority not his own. Surely this, which would not be permitted in the most ordinary affairs of official life, cannot be permitted when life and death are concerned. In the field, in war, law must give way, so that the basis of law may be laid in national security. We would not stickle for

constitutional law at such a time. We have from the first held that cases like these are in no way analogous to Mr. Cowan's.

Let us add that we do not mean to insinuate that Mr. Cowan acted from a wanton recklessnees of human life. Of that we know nothing. But the facts are here, and at least and best there was a want of discretion and judgment deplorable in an officer placed in such a position. It is a deed that cannot be plotted out, and some day, if it should unfortunately be endorsed by Government, the deed will be pleaded as an excuse for devilries when our own women and children are in peril, and need to fall back upon the national character for broad equal justice and humanity. We do not address these arguments to Governments, who are doubtless in possession of all the facts. We address them to the English public in India. We are aware of the natural tendency, living as Englishmen are here, to support an officer who "does his best in difficulty". It is a natural feeling, and justifiable, that there is danger in the Punjab, is that these executions have diminished the danger? What we assert is that the executions have increased it in many different ways, and among the chief of those ways is this, that a British officer has by an extreme, unauthorised and altogether unjustifiable act done a great deal to deter other officers in future from doing plain and unmistakeable duty. This always is the case. A host of persons may exercise a right which borders on despotism and yet is the reverse of despotic. All at once a man comes in to drive the act home to its direct consequences, with the result that from time even the merciful application of the right is checked. We do not, of course, mean that Mr. Cowan used his right, for the law had specially provided that the power of life and death should not rest in his hands, but he possessed despotic rights which have often been used mercifully in India, but magnifying a mere outbreak into a great mutiny he has done a deed that will check many an officer in a very different course of action for a long time to come.

We do not fear the Government decision. We could not influence it if we tried. We have not tried, and are not trying, but when we find rubbish like those productions of "An Englishman" admitted to the columns of a paper like the Indian Daily News there is something to fear for public opinion. The

news, however, completely disavowed the argument that Mr. Cowan was justified in putting men to death without trial they could not have been convicted. The Editor never dreamt of defending Mr. Cowan on that ground. And here was seen the brave spirit of this Englishman who dares not to sign his name to his letters. When he saw that the News was against him he came back, evading the whole point of his argument, but pleading with a humility almost as pitiable as his abuse that the violence of the Friend rendered him violent. We are sorry for it if we have been violent. We certainly do not feel so, but we are resolved that the facts of this case shall be known. We are resolved that no abuse, written by interested persons for selfish purposes, shall hinder us from doing a plain duty. England will rule India when Mr. Cowan and we are gone. But her rule must be just as well as fearless and must not permit justice to be ignored without knowing the reason why, and forcing that reason home.

THE FRIEND OF INDIA

March 28, 1872.

The Kooka Executions—A correspondent, whose views our readers would respect if we could give his name, sends us a letter containing the following passages (we simply omit references of a private and confidential character) :—

I cannot help writing you a few lines to say that I think the stand you have taken up in regard to the Kooka massacre (I can call it nothing else) is the correct one, and I trust you will not be driven from your position by any amount of bullying. Nothing on earth that the opposite party can prove will justify the acts of Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth. Whatever treasonable or seditious intentions the Kookas might have had—the danger, if any ever existed, had passed—and the massacre of the deluded wretches was merely an act of inhuman cruelty. No Lieutenant Governor, no Viceroy can be held responsible for the peace and good government of the country if subordinate officers are to be allowed to massacre the Queen's subjects whenever they choose to think that the circumstances of the case require them to strike terror into the hearts of the people. I think, however, that you make a great mistake in singling out Mr. Cowan for signal condemnation. If his crime was great,

that of Mr. Forsyth was ten times greater. It is true that he had the legal power to confirm sentences of death in the Native States of the Cis-Sutledge ; but if there was some excuse for Mr. Cowan having acted under panic—as he undoubtedly did—there was none whatever for Mr. Forsyth losing his head, since he arrived on the scene from Delhi two days after, when he knew that there was a military force at Loodiana sufficient to stamp out the smallest spark of Kooka insurrection that might remain. “His own excuse is the most signal condemnation of his proceedings,—that he thought Mr. Cowan ought to be supported and, therefore, he hanged the 16 remaining Kookas. If after this, Mr. Forsyth is allowed to retain any post of independence there will be an end of all dreams of British justice in India.

It is untrue that all the chiefs approved of this massacre. I know that one thought it wholly unnecessary, that there was smallest and never danger.

There have been exaggerated private accounts representing that the whole turth cannot be told. * * * I hope you will continue to maintain your position—for if it be true that the Supreme Government has condemned these massacres they will require support, as I see all the Punjabees (vide General Taylor’s, McNabb’s and Mr. Ford’s letters in *The Times*) stand by the Commissioner. My firm belief, however, is that the words of Lord Napier of Magdala are true, that we never had a slighter hold on the affections of the people, and that this is not the way to regain what we have lost. It is undoubtedly to show weakness and not strength, or to butt it as an influential native expressed himself to me yesterday,—‘What ! is the mighty British Government so afraid of a raid by 200 or 300 carpenters and masons without arms, as to be compelled to act as if High Court, Lieutenant Governor, Viceroy and all law and order had disappeared from the land ? This is the real opinion entertained by all thinking men, European or Natives, who are not blinded by panic, or who do not see the necessity of supporting the local authorities in any or every folly they may have committed. The question of the designs of the Kookas has nothing whatever to do with that of the massacre, unless it be admitted that men should be hanged for intention.

I take the deepest interest in the good government of India, and it is with extreme regret that I find the Punjab which was our stronghold in 1857 becoming a hotbed of sedition. Depend upon it, this has not been brought about without some blame being attributable to the Hakims. I have long been aware that they were held by a very loose rein ; and I had hoped that under the government of Sir H. Durand, who was a strong man, things would have changed ; but alas he was taken away, and with him, I assume, though I do not know it, the independence of Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners was re-established. If the new Viceroy does not step in, mischief may yet be done. It is right to mention here that I am not aware of what views Mr. Davies has expressed on this case, and, for all know, he may be the right man in the right place, though I hear he has supported the Commissioner.

We are glad of the opportunity this letter affords us of explaining why we have not coupled Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Cowan together. We wanted and want a clear case, which England as well as India can understand, and to introduce, as part of the argument, what Mr. Cowan did without trial. Let Mr. Cowan's act be proved—and it will be proved—one of the most unwise and cruel ever done by an Englishman in India, and it will then develop upon us to ask if Mr. Forsyth approved of and supported the act. One thing at a time ; but we never referred to Mr. Forsyth's decision without saying that with law or without it we should not have had the responsibility of such a sentence passed at such a time, after such a massacre of fifty men. The matter has come before Parliament, and we beg the Indian Government to let the full facts appear as soon as possible. We do not wish to be affected to care a straw for Mr. Cowan, or Mr. Forsyth, one way or another, in the matter. We are looking to a political act of immense importance to England and India and the Government that dares to do right, in the face of all the noise and bluster, will do for English rule in India one of those services which remain for ever associated with the names of true statesmen. Our duty will be done when the act is condemned. After that Mr. Cowan may be made a Bishop for anything we care.
